UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

Your Affectionate Friend
John Lamb.

MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

GENERAL JOHN LAMB,

AN

OFFICER OF THE REVOLUTION,

WHO

COMMANDED THE POST AT WEST POINT AT
THE TIME OF ARNOLD'S DEFECTION,

AND

HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH WASHINGTON,
CLINTON, PATRICK HENRY,

AND

OTHER DISTINGUISHED MEN OF HIS TIME.

BY ISAAC Q. LEAKE.

ALBANY:
JOEL MUNSELL, 78 STATE STREET.
1857.

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LIFE OF JOHN LAMB.

PREFATORY CHAPTER.

The American Revolution, which has produced such extraordinary results at home and abroad, and which is destined to cause still greater changes in the European world, will elevate the eighteenth century beyond that of any of its predecessors in the annals of history. The success of the great struggle for liberty, which was by the many supposed hopeless, and which present historians deem almost miraculous, was brought about by the courage and perseverance of a few indomitable spirits, whom no labor could weary or danger appal; and it was by their moral courage and intrepidity, that this great Revolution was begun, continued, and ended.

Many of those who figured largely in the history of the times; and some even, who swayed the councils of the nation after the struggle was successfully begun, were content with encouraging the revolt of others, without committing themselves; and kept within the pale of safety, until they could embark, without fear, upon the perilous sea. But there were some who were not only the principal agitators, but actors in the most daring exploits; and who threw themselves into the breach, in the most dangerous conjunctures. Had it not been for these, who took upon themselves the fearful responsibility of directing and participating in overt acts of rebellion, the studied arguments of others, who wished to bring on a crisis, but shrunk from its dangerous concomitants, would have been unavailing.

These were the men who banded themselves together at the first encroachments of the mother country, under the designation of associated SONS OF LIBERTY; and whose boldness and constancy drove the ministerial party to abandon their open attempts, and to mask their resolved purposes under measures less palpable to the general perception.

The intent of the first association, was to put down the Stamp Act; and when this was effected, the object of the society appeared to be accomplished. But the acts of Parliament, simultaneous with, and subsequent to, the repeal, gave to the more sagacious a cause for alarm, greater than the obnoxious bill which had been rescinded. The Billeting Act, or Mutiny Bill, by establishing a standing army in the Colonies at their own charge, was intended to strengthen the arm of the royal authority, to overawe the Assembly, and to coerce the people to acquiesce in the impositions of the Parliament.

History is full of the resistance to the enormous assumptions of the mother country by New England and at the south; but little is said of the attitude of New York in that dangerous crisis. And yet in that Colony, where the power of the sovereign was almost omnipotent, notwithstanding the exertions of the most wealthy inhabitants, whose large estates were held by grants from the crown; and whose subservience to the royal mandates, influenced the Assembly, together with all those who subsisted by the royal bounty; there was found a chosen few who remained constant to the last; and who, when all seemed lost, kept alive the spirit of resistance, until from a feeble and hopeless minority they were enabled to triumph over the power of the colonial government, and prostrate the royal authority forever.

The association of the Sons of Liberty was organized in 1765, soon after the passage of the Stamp Act, and extended throughout the colonies, from Massachusetts to South Carolina. It appears that New York was the central post from which communications were despatched, to and from the east, and to the south as far as Maryland; which province was the channel of communication to and from its neighbors of Virginia and the Carolinas.

As the post-offices were under the control of the government, and the riders not at all times reliable, the committee of New York (and probably the other provinces adopted the same course), upon extraordinary occasions, despatched intelligence by special messengers; and if need were, a part of their members visited in person the neighboring associations, to ensure the perfect organization of the patriotic league.

The New York Association had a correspondent in London, to whom an account was given of their proceedings, and from whom intelligence was from time to time transmitted, of the proceedings and the supposed designs of the Ministry, which was disseminated among the people by the association at home. A record of the names of the most active of the leaders, would be a desirable document; but as this would be difficult to be obtained, without great labor, and, perhaps, by a single individual impossible; a list of the committees in the different provinces, so far as they can be ascertained from the remaining papers of the committee of New York, might be the means of initiating inquiry in other quarters towards producing the desired effect.

Those from Maryland will appear from the following extract from "The Proceedings of the Sons of Liberty, March 1, 1766."

The Sons of Liberty of Baltimore county and Anne Arundel county, met at the Court House of the city of Annapolis, the first day of March, 1766.

On motion of a Son of Liberty, to appoint a moderator and secretary, the Rev. Andrew Lendrum was chosen moderator, and William Paca, secretary.

Joseph Nicholson, from Kent county, presented an address from that county, signed Wm. Ringgold, Wm. Stephenson, Thomas Ringgold, Jr., Joseph McHard, Gideon McCauley, Daniel Fox, Benj. Binning, Wm. Bordley, Jarvis James, William Stukely, Jos. Nicholson, Jr., James Porter, Thomas Ringgold, Jas. Anderson, Thos. Smyth, Wm. Murray, Jos. Nicholson, Geo. Garnet, S. Boardley, Junr., Peroy Frisby, Hen. Vandike, and John Bolton.

William Paca, Samuel Chase, and Thos. B. Hands, were the Anne Arundel County Committee.

John Hall, Robert Alexander, Corbin Lee, James Heath, John Moale, and William Lux, were the Baltimore County Committee.

Thomas Chase, D. Chamier, Robt. Adair, Patrick Allison, and W. Smith, were the Baltimore Town Committee.

Pennsylvania.—William Bradford and Isaac Howell, the Correspondents at Philadelphia.

New Jersey.—Daniel Hendrickson, Minister; Peter Imlay, Jr., Joseph Holmes, Jr., Peter Covenhoven, Jr., and Elisha Lawrence, Jr., were the Committee of Upper Freehold.

Richard Smith, of Burlington.

Henry Bickers, of New Brunswick.

Connecticut.—Jo. Burrows.

Jona. Sturgis, Fairfield.

John Durkee, Norwich.

Hugh Ledlie, Windham.

New York.—John Lamb, Isaac Sears, William Wiley, Edward Laight, Thomas Robinson, Flores Bancker, Charles Nicoll, Joseph Allicoke, and Gershom Mott.

Jer. Van Rensselaer, Mynd. Roseboom, Rob. Henry, and Thos. Young, Albany.

John S. Hobart, Gilbert Potter, Thomas Brush, Cornelius Conklin, and Nathaniel Williams, Huntington, Long Island.

George Townsend, Barack Sneething, Benj. Townsend, George Weeks, Michael Weeks, and Rowland Chambers, Oyster Bay, Long Island.

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CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Sons of Liberty.—Moral Influence of their exertions on the Revolution.—Effect on subsequent Revolutions in Europe.—Birth and Parentage of JOHN LAMB.—Early Occupation.—Characteristics.—Opposed to ministerial aggressions.—A Leader of the SONS OF LIBERTY.—The Stamp Act.—Early Action of the South and East.—Opposition of the Continental Colonies.—Of Jamaica.—St. Christopher.—Stamp Distributors.—Burnt in Effigy at Boston —Rebuked at New Haven.—New York aroused.—Lieut.-Gov. Colden makes preparation for enforcing the Act.—Repairs the Forts.—Colden burnt in Effigy.—Destruction of Private Property not intended.—Gen. Gage's forbearance.—Colden delivers the Stamps to the Corporation.

The three last centuries have produced more important events than any which have occurred in the same period of time which has preceded them. Neither the Jewish nor the Roman empire, ever made such rapid strides to power, as that nation founded by the descendants of persecuted exiles, who sought refuge in another hemisphere, from the tyranny and misrule of the mother country.

From the proscriptions begun by Elizabeth, and continued by her successors, the Puritans were forced to seek in the wilderness, the freedom of conscience which was denied them at home. And although resentment of their many wrongs, at first produced in them the same intolerance towards dissenters from their particular creed, as that under which they had suffered; yet as the Colonies increased in population by the influx of emigration, the fanaticism which had grown up among them, yielded to a more generous sentiment, while the trials to which they were subjected preparatory to the great effort of the Parliament to reduce them to vassalage, had produced a more extended intercourse, which assisted to form a national character, peculiarly adapted to sustain them in the Revolution which followed, and in the subsequent establishment of their Constitutional Government.

Resistance to the arbitrary principles adopted by the Stuarts at an early period, drove some of the best citizens of England into exile. And when at the restoration, the descendants of the first Charles (inheriting of the characteristics of their father, nothing but his dissimulation and his obstinacy), commenced their career of proscription; the Pilgrims of the Colonies derived a precious accession to their physical and moral strength, by the expatriation of thousands with resolution to dare every thing, to preserve the religious and civil principles for which they first drew their swords, and for the defence of which, they were driven into exile.

The transactions of the preceding reigns, and the discussions which grew out of them, had well expounded those principles; and the men who had been actors, or participators in those momentous events, had so inculcated them into the succeeding generations, that it needed but collision to produce the spark of patriotism, which set the whole of the Colonies in flame. It was the peculiar character and constitution of mind of the Colonists, formed by these persecutions of their ancestors, that enabled them successfully to resist the encroachments of the mother country. The remembrance of the wrongs of their fathers, and the glorious resistance which they had made at home, determined them to defend, at all hazards, the precious inheritance to which they had succeeded; and they watched with jealous eye, the first effort of the British Parliament to invade their privileges, and to fetter them in political bondage.

The designs of the ministry were early detected; and as they gradually developed themselves in successive acts of Parliament restricting the trade of the Colonies, the obnoxious encroachments were every where met with boldness, and resisted with energy. The law imposing stamp duties; the crowning act of an infatuated ministry, directly affected all classes of society, and met with universal resistance; and the measures resorted to, in order to compel its recision, and to reform other abuses; though ruinous to many, and severely onerous to all, were submitted to, and endured with unexampled patriotism and patience.

The unanimity and perseverance of all ranks, were much promoted by the unceasing efforts of the associated Sons of Liberty. The organization of that patriotic band, which pervaded every part of the Colonies, was the germ of the Revolution. By their intrepidity, the spirit of the masses was aroused; and by their persevering industry and zeal, the people were excited to oppose all efforts to enslave them. These bold spirits, formed the nucleus of the future armies of the Revolution. And it is to the moral courage which they displayed, and the indomitable resolution with which they braved all dangers, that the world is indebted for the illustrious example set by the infant Colonies to Europe, and the foundation of a free and powerful Empire.

The influence of these patriotic men, and the successful issue of the struggle began by their boldness, and sustained by their energies, has scattered abroad the seeds of Freedom. These have borne fruit, in encouraging a spirit of inquiry throughout the civilized world; reforming despotic governments; regenerating the fairest portion of the other continent; and given to France, the best king that has occupied her throne since the days of Charlemagne: and perhaps the best government which the moral constitution of her people enables them to bear.*

If the successful issue of the Revolution has solved the problem of the possible existence of a free, yet powerful government, the meed of applause is due: first, to the devoted individuals, who, despising the dangers and disgraces to which they were exposed, set at naught the penalties and disqualifications of conspiracy and treason—and entered into the contest with a full knowledge of all its hazards, and with a determination to persist to the death to effect their emancipation: and secondly, to those brave men who bore arms in the subsequent struggle: and to all these, however obscure their names, or imperfect their efforts, the Nation at large owe a deep and lasting gratitude.

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* The whirlwind of Revolution has swept over Europe since these lines were written, but as yet, the writer sees no cause to change the opinions expressed in them.

The task of perpetuating the fame of many of the great leaders of the Revolution, has fallen into the hands of able historians, who have well performed that duty. To rescue from oblivion, and to do justice to the founders of our liberties, whose personal or moral courage were instrumental in producing great and universal benefits to mankind, is peculiarly the duty of the present age. Now, when the present race, who enjoy the blessings purchased by the blood of their fathers, are fast verging to the grave; it is incumbent on all who have the means of elucidating past transactions, or the power to do justice to the actors in the scenes which have preceded them, to lend their efforts, before they are themselves called to account, lest the deeds of their ancestors be forever forgotten.

Dunlap, in his useful history, has done much to perpetuate the memory of many of that patriotic association, the Sons of Liberty. To the names of Sears, McDougall, Willett and Hamilton, mentioned by him, may be added those of John Lamb, Hugh Hughes, Gershom Mott, William Wiley, and Thomas Robinson; who composed the most efficient and determined committees, from 1765 to the breaking out of the war; and who were in active correspondence with the patriots of the other Colonies, and aided by their labors to keep up the ardor of opposition to the encroachments of the Ministry.

The claims of Hamilton and Willett have been advocated by their respective sons. Some account of both Sears and McDougall, will be found in the succeeding chapters. The first was a man of great personal intrepidity; forward in dangerous enterprises, and ready at all times to carry out the boldest measures; the latter more cautious and circumspect, yet not unwilling to hazard his personal safety whenever the occasion required. It is matter of much regret, that more ample materials do not remain, to do justice to these and others of the fraternity.

Of the many who earliest embarked in the Revolution, and staked their lives and fortunes on the result, none were more active and conspicuous than John Lamb, the subject of this memoir. Of an ardent temper, yet cool in the formation and execution of important designs; of undaunted courage and indomitable perseverance, he entered with the enthusiasm of his nature into the stormy scenes of that period, and exerted all his physical and mental faculties to further the cause of emancipation.

His father, Anthony Lamb, was a native of England, from whence he emigrated to this country, and married in the city of New York a lady of Dutch parentage, named Ham; of which marriage the subject of this history was born on the first of January, 1735. Anthony Lamb was the most celebrated and skilful optician, and maker of mathematical instruments, in this country of that day, and carried on those occupations with great success. In early youth, the son followed the occupation of his father. But he did not long continue in those pursuits, for about the year 1760 he commenced the business of wine merchant; and through the troublesome times which preceded the war, was largely engaged in the liquor trade.* About the period of his majority, he married Catherine Jandine, a lady of Huguenot descent; and at the commencement of the war, was the father of three children; the youngest of whom, then four years old, is the present General Anthony Lamb of Albion Place, late Alderman of the city of New York.

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* Previous to the year 1762, Mr. Lamb had commercial relations with an individual named Cairns, who was for some time located at Havana. Shipments were made to him from time to time, and wine and other commodities received on account. Cairns, after suffering the balance against him to amount to four thousand pounds, embarked for Liverpool in England. The vessel on board which he had taken passage, foundered at sea; and the crew and passengers, taking to the boat, escaped to the shore. On arriving at Charleston, S. C.; Cairns despatched letters, ante-dated at Havana to New York, requesting that insurance to a large amount should be made on property to be shipped on board the vessel then about to sail. It so happened that in the same mail, in which these letters were transmitted, an account of the loss of the ship was sent, but

Although Mr. Lamb had not the advantage of a classical education, he was possessed of more than the usual share of the literature of that period. He was well versed in the belle-lettre knowledge of the day; spoke his mother's native tongue, and German fluently; and was a proficient in the French language. This last acquirement was perhaps of more service than a deeper erudition, in his subsequent military career, as it enabled him to avail himself of various works on military science, not then rendered into English. He was a fluent speaker, and a forcible and ready writer. His style of composition was bold and nervous, and he was not restrained by fear of the law of libel, nor the military power of the time, from giving full scope to his indignation

the name of the wrecked vessel was concealed. The insurance was effected, and Cairns laid claim to the amount of the policy. He even commenced proceedings against the insurers, and flattered his creditors that he would be able to pay his debts out of the amount to be recovered.

But the fraud was resisted; and from something having transpired unfavorable to his character, Cairns absconded, and for a long time was not heard of. It now became doubtful, whether, in reality, he had anything on board the lost vessel, and it was suspected that he had previously transmitted his property to Europe; and that by the meditated fraud upon the underwriters, he meant that they should furnish means of indemnity for his creditors.

Many years elapsed, when a man disguised as a Turk, came from the Levant and set up a Bazaar in London, for the sale of Turkish merchandise. For some time he continued this business; but being detected, the impostor proved to be Cairns, who again absconded.

Near the close of the war, Mr. Lamb, then Colonel of Artillery, received a letter from the brother of his defaulting agent, requesting an interview, and intimating that he had disclosures to make which would be beneficial to him; but being unwilling to expose himself to a conference too near the British lines, the interview was for that time declined, and no meeting was had until after the peace.

upon all occasions, when the acts of the crown conflicted with the liberties of the people.

The patriotic paper printed by John Holt; Hugh Gaines's sheet; and the *Gazette* and *Spy*, cotemporary papers published at Boston, were the chief vehicles which conveyed intelligence to the people; and all bear evidence of the industry and ability of Mr. Lamb.* In addition to his printed writings, he held an active correspondence with kindred spirits in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, &c. The history of this city, from the commencement of the troubles which preceded the Revolution, to the breaking out of the war in 1775, is in fact, the history in part, of the subject of this memoir: as no important political movement was made, or practical demonstration exhibited, which his mind had not assisted to plan, or his hand to execute. Although his name is not so frequently mentioned as some others; as he was in most cases the narrator of the events; and the exploits of his coadjutors figure more largely than his own: he was, notwithstanding, the principal agitator. A succinct detail, therefore, of the general transactions of that time, will not be deemed inappropriate.

From the earliest periods, when the British Ministry, unmindful of the wise counsels of Sir Robert Walpole, abandoned the prudent measures of the preceding reign, and began to fetter the commerce of the Colonies; Mr. Lamb was found the steady and determined opposer of all vexatious restrictions, and encroachments. The adoption of regulations ostensibly to prevent smuggling, but in reality to cut off the trade of the Colonies with those in this hemisphere belonging to other powers: a trade not contravening in spirit any acts of Parliament, was a very injurious blow to the colonial merchants generally; and bore with peculiar severity upon the interests of Mr. Lamb, as he dealt chiefly with commodities, the growth of France and Spain, and was in the habit of importing largely from the islands of those powers, the products necessary to his commerce.

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* Among the Handbills of the New York Historical Library, many contain intrinsic evidence of having been written by him. The one signed A PLEBEIAN, can be safely claimed, as the typographical errors are corrected in his hand-writing. That also signed A MECHANIC, has strong identity of parentage with the PLEBEIAN.

The Colonists had submitted, but not without murmuring, to the system of taxation by impost duties, as the profits of trade enabled them to bear their imperceptible burthens; and they bounded their repugnance to these acts, to petitions and remonstrances. But when the Minister unmasked his designs, and brought forward his incipient measure of direct taxation, the obnoxious duty on stamped paper; they took bolder and more active measures to resist the alarming encroachments. Against this act the dissatisfaction was universal; and many who subsequently figured as the firmest supporters of the British government, and afterwards bore arms against the men with whom they were then acting, were no way backward in resistance. Even the legal profession, the last to feel the effect of stringent measures of taxation, felt themselves wofully embarrassed in their affairs; and the judicial business of the Colonies was threatened with ruinous impediments, by the operation of the law. And when early in the year 1765, the Minister brought forward the act, to be obligatory in all the British Colonies, all those on the continent entered into a system of united opposition.

Vigorous efforts were made to rouse the people to resistance, and induce them to consent to measures of non-importation from Great Britian, before the Congress, which assembled in New York in 1765, was convened. But after that Congress had met, and the merchants of all the trading towns, and members of the legal profession had entered into the measures recommended by the Congress, as the most effective means of averting the threatened evil, the Sons of Liberty determined to exert a "vigor beyond the law," to compel the Minister to rescind the act.

The popular press in New York, teemed with firm, but moderate articles, against the reception of the stamps; but in imitation of the journals in the neighboring colonies, gradually warmed, as the final struggle approached. A paper in New Haven, published an admonition and rebuke, to the distributor appointed for that city, which seemed equally applicable to all who had accepted the odious office, and which was copied with approval by the papers of the other provinces. Three days before this publication, the people of Boston, not having been apprised that their distributor had resigned, burnt his effigy with the usual ceremonies. James McEvers, the distributor appointed for New York, had early given out, that he would not execute the duties of his office; and warned by these indications of the public feeling, reiterated more emphatically his determination, and refused to take the stamps into custody on their arrival. And the south, from Carolina to the Hudson, had declared their resolution to resist the operation of the law. Intelligence was received that the islands of Jamaica and St. Christopher were resolved to oppose the reception of the obnoxious papers; and the colonies of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were not behind their brethren of New England, in overt acts of repudiation. Even Canada, revolted at the degrading law, and resolved to oppose it.

The colony of New York, had not made many open demonstrations of hostility to the law: yet the Sons of Liberty had pledged coöperation to their brethren abroad; and were determined not to be out done, in any act of zeal, in the defence of their constitutional rights. The necessity of securing the fidelity of the popular press of the city, was obvious; and some fears were entertained, that the conductor might shrink from the responsibility of publishing his journal upon unstamped paper, in direct disobedience of the law. On the evening of the thirty-first of October, placards were placed at the Coffee House, and letters* thrown in at the win-

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*As you have hitherto proved yourself a friend to liberty, by publishing such compositions as had a tendency to promote the cause we are engaged in, we are encouraged to hope you will not be deterred from continuing your useful paper, by groundless fear of the detestable stamp act.

However, should you at this critical time shut up the press, and basely dows of the publisher's office, admonitory of the consequences of defection. In reply to which, he* published a manifesto, resolving to issue his paper as usual, in defiance of the law.

On the 31st of October, the day before the law was to take effect, a meeting had been called at Burns's Coffee House, at which a large concourse were assembled, and resolves were passed to enforce opposition to the distribution of the stamps, and to form associations to discourage the importation of goods from Great Britain until the act was rescinded. The resolves were approved by a large majority of the meeting, and two hundred merchants subscribed them. At this meeting it was proposed to raise a committee to correspond with the different Colonies, and to propose articles of confederacy, the better to give effect to the resolves. Many prominent names were put in nomination, but the duty was declined. At length Isaac Sears, John Lamb, Gershom Mott, William Wiley, and Thomas Robinson, the most ardent of the associated Sons of Liberty, men whom danger could not appal, volunteered their services, and were accepted.

Gordon asserts that this committee was appointed by a meeting of the 6th November, and he is followed by all subsequent historians. But it can not be discovered from the papers of the day that any such meeting was held. Botta has been misled into a similar error; but at the same time discloses the mistake, when he says that this meeting coerced from Lieut.-Gov. Colden the surrender of the stamped paper to the corporation; an event which occurred before the day on which the meeting was said to have been held.

The cause of these errors was this: Holt's paper was is-

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desert us, depend upon it, your house, person, and effects, will be in imminent danger. We shall therefore expect your paper on Thursday as usual; if not on Thursday evening. Take CARE.

Signed in the name, and by the order, of a great number of the Free Sons of New York.

On the Turf, the 2d November, 1765.

JOHN HAMPDEN.

* Holt's paper.

sued weekly, and the meeting of the 31st October, at which the committee was raised, was not published in the paper of that day, but was deferred until the 7th of November, the next day* of publication.

On the evening of the day on which the committee was chosen, the people assembled in masses, and some disturbance was threatened; but the authorties of the city quickly dispersed them, and the night quietly passed away.

The first day of November had now arrived; the awful day, when the abominable rescript was to begin its operation. The people had become excited by the apparent determination of Lieut.-Gov. Colden to enforce the act, and to issue the stamps which were lodged within the Fort. This officer had not been the least backward of the Colonial magistrates, in inducing the Minister to adopt the most rigorous measures: and he was marked by the people for having requested an extension of his power and means, to compel them to obedience. He had been accused of declaring his intention to coerce submission; and it is certain that he had ordered repairs to the Fort, and made other warlike demonstrations. These, increased by many other causes of dislike, were the motives which incited the popular leaders to bestow some signal marks of reprobation upon him. They therefore, with great order, and with the usual solemnities, proceeded to burn his effigy; which was effected without any serious outbreak, except consuming his state chariot, together with his obnoxious resemblance.†

Although this was done under the very walls of the Fort, and in full view of the soldiers stationed on the ramparts; Gen. Gage, the commander of the forces, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, restrained the troops from firing upon the rioters; for which act of prudence and forbearance, the Common Council of the City ordered an official expression of their respect and gratitude. It was undoubtedly the intention of the promoters of this manifestation of reproof to Gov. Colden, that the affair should have ended with a bon fire;* but some of the rioters, disregarding the commands of their leaders, proceeded to commit violence and waste upon the property of Maj. James, one of His Majesty's officers, living in the upper part of the city. This catastrophe the leaders vainly strove to avert: as at the outset they had issued the strictest prohibition against the destruction of private property. But those orders had been violated in this respect, as well as in the destruction of the Governor's chariot. They were unavoidable consequences; and it is more matter of surprise that greater excesses were not perpetrated, than that these should have been indulged in.

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* Holt's paper. Botta, vol. i., p. 74, et seq.

† Holt's paper, 1192.

Stamped papers had been brought from England by a Capt. Davis, on the 23d October, and Mr. McEvers, the distributor appointed, not being willing to receive them, they had been lodged in the Fort.

The day after this *emeute*, Gov. Colden gave public notice that he would not issue the stamps, but would leave them to the discretion of Sir Henry Moore, the Governor, who was on his way from England, and hourly expected. Some of the most respectable citizens gave confirmation of the Governor's intention under their own signatures. Still the people were not satisfied, and required that they should be delivered out of the Fort to the captain of His Majesty's ship Coventry, to be reshipped to England; and upon his refusal to receive them, they insisted that the Governor should surrender them to the Common Council, to be deposited in the City Hall. This was done on the 5th of November; the Mayor giving a receipt for their security against loss or destruction.

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* Some of the historians of the time, who have been followed by Botta, ascribe this affair to the sudden outbreak of the *lower class*. This is not true. It was planned by the leaders of the Sons of Liberty, and executed under the direction of Lamb, Sears, and others of the fraternity; who were merchants, traders, and reputable mechanics. The *mob*, however, followed them, and committed the destruction of private property.

CHAPTER II.

Consequences of the Outbreak of 1st November.—Committee to enforce Recommendations of Congress.—Action of Philadelphia.—Quickened by the Committee.—Arrival of Gov. Moore.—His conciliatory Policy.—Countermands Military Preparations.—Satisfaction of the People.—Minerva searched for Connecticut Stamps.—Threatening Letter to the Assembly.—Stamps for Connecticut burnt.—Reproof of Lieut. Hallam, of the Garland.—Repeal of the Act.—Rejoicings.—Raising of the First Liberty Pole.—Statue of the King.—Of Pitt.—Mutiny Act.—The King requires Compliance —Partial assent of the Legislature.—Damages done by the Rioters to be paid.—Assembly evade.—Liberty Pole destroyed by Soldiers.—First Battle with the Citizens.—Second Pole destroyed.—Military Violence.—The King demands perfect Compliance with Mutiny Act.—Decision of the Assembly.—Third Liberty Pole destroyed.—Reërected —Unsuccessful attempt to destroy it with Gunpowder.—Violence of the Military.—Attack on Bardin's House.

This was an important crisis in the affairs of the Colonies. The putting down the Stamp Act, was to them of vital importance, and failure was utter destruction. The leaders were therefore resolved to persevere to the last. All eyes were directed to New York, as the pivot upon which the insurrectionary movements would turn; and great fear had been entertained, lest this important link in the chain of the Union might be severed. The South and the East, had taken the boldest measures, and had forced their distributors to resign; burning the most obnoxious in effigy.

Similar inflictions, were almost universal in the Northern and Eastern Colonies, but until the recent demonstration in New York, nothing of the energy demanded by the times, or expected by the people, had taken place. But this daring flight, this striking at a higher quarry, enlivened all hearts. While the other provinces had wreaked their vengeance upon minor officers of the crown; the sister, for whose faith in the cause, most had been feared, had out-stripped them all, and had taken the Lion by the beard.

A royal Governor, so boldly rebuked and forced to submission, placed New York in the front ranks of opposition, and second to none, in the array of the Revolutionary legion. The Sons of Liberty, in imitation of the Parliamentary armies of England, who made war upon the King, in the King's own name; justified the outbreak of the 1st November[*] as an act of "true loyalty" due as leal subjects, in the exhibition of "warm, as well as timely zeal" in the "defence of His Majesty's person and government." The ground thus taken could not be very consolatory to His Majesty's representative, whose person had been desecrated, his authority set at naught, and his property destroyed in the exhibition; and it is to be presumed, that he "conned them no thanks" for this exuberance of their loyalty.

The Committee of 31st October then proceeded to enforce the recommendations of the Congress of October[†] at home, and to correspond with their brethren abroad, in furtherance of the great end in view. The Committee advised and directed that the English merchants should ship no more goods to the Colonies, until the repeal of the Stamp Act: and that the merchants at home should decline selling on commission, any such goods to be shipped after the 1st day of January, 1766. This circular instruction was adopted with the greatest unanimity.

A fair or market was established below the Exchange, for the vending of articles of home manufactures, to be continued at stated periods, in order to obviate, as far as possible, the inconvenience of the measures adopted.[‡]

In addition, they framed articles of Union to be adopted by the Confederated Colonies to resist the act; and for the assembling of a General Congress in case that the Ministry should resolve to enforce it. These were sent, first, to the Eastern Colonies for concurrence, and after having been adopted by them, were dispatched to the Committee of Baltimore for the purpose of obtaining their approval, and that of the southern provinces, as will appear by the following letter:*

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[*] Holt's paper.

[†] This Congress assembled 7th October, and dissolved 25th.

[‡] Holt, 1195.

NEW YORK, April 3d, 1766.

Gentlemen:

We are informed, with your's of the 24th, by Mr. M'Clure, with your [some word omitted,] which we conceive to be as efficacious as any that we have seen.

Enclosed you have a plan of the present Union of the Colonies (according to promise), which was transmitted from here to Connecticut, and by them communicated to the other eastern provinces, in all which it has been approved of, and since sent westward.

We desire that you would forward copies of it to all the southern governments, with as much dispatch as possible; for we know not how soon we may be put to the test by that pack of infernal rascals, Granville and his minions.

Whenever opportunity offers, we should be glad that you would communicate to Pennsylvania as much as possible.

We should be fond of your opinion by the quickest conveyance, relative to a General Congress, in case the "Act" is to be enforced, by means of whcih, a plan might be found to be pursued by the whole, as we expect our fate is decided ere now. The sooner you communicate the better.

We are with the utmost esteem,
Gentlemen, y'r H'ble Serv'ts.

To the Committee in Baltimore.

The Committee was active at home and abroad, and some intimations having been received that seemed to threaten defection in Philadelphia, Mr. Lamb proceeded to that city, and was successful in procuring a compliance with the patriotic regulations of the Congress. A short time after his arrival there, Mr. Hughes, the distributor, who had been reluctant to relinquish his office, and was suspected of a design to resume it, if an opportunity should offer, published a perfect renunciation, and avowed his resolution not to serve in any emergency. This determination was brought about by letters from the Committee of 13th November, threatening a special delegation to assist him in his deliberations, and to quicken his conclusions.*

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* Lamb's papers, N. Y. His. Soc. Botta, vol i, pp. 74, 75.

The ship Minerva, Capt. Tillet, had now arrived, having a second shipment of stamps; and a more desirable freight, in the person of Sir Henry Moore, the expected Governor. The stamps were lodged in the Fort, but the Governor on landing, declared that he would not compel their issue; and the people for a season were satisfied that they should remain there. The Assembly met the same day, being the one to which they had been adjourned; and at the Governor's request, again adjourned until the next day.† The Governor ordered that the works at the Fort and batteries, which had been commenced by Lieut.-Gov. Colden, and which had been one of the causes of popular indignation against him, should be discontinued.

These concessions of the Governor were exceedingly gratifying to the people. The Sons of Liberty sent him an address, congratulating him upon his arrival, and received a complaisant answer to their letter. On the next day, a large meeting of the populace assembled in the fields;‡ erected pyramids to his honor; and the evening concluded with a magnificent bonfire. The Municipal authorities addressed a letter to Gen. Gage, the commander of the forces, congratulating him upon the peaceful termination of the late alarming disturbances; and ascribing much to his prudence on the occasion. The General replied by a reciprocation of the acknowledgments of the corporation, and intimated that a sanguinary resistance on the night of the 1st, might have had an unfortunate tendency in fomenting the *rebellious* indications in the adjoining colonies. Possibly his Excellency was aware, that the Sons of Liberty had received letters from all quarters in the vicinity, advising them that the citizens would be sustained, should the military force be called into action.*

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* Lamb's papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Assembly Journals.

‡ Now known as the Park.

The citizens held a numerous meeting on the 25th, and renewed their resolves to discontinue importations unless the act was repealed; two hundred merchants signing an agreement to that effect. The retailers also determined to aid in carrying it into effective operation by refusing to purchase any goods imported in contravention of its provisions. A committee was appointed to address the city representatives, complaining of the restrictions on trade, and denouncing the act. The call for this assemblage was signed by the most wealthy and influential of the inhabitants; and in their address they assumed the boldest grounds against the pretensions of the Mother Country, to impose taxes on the Colonies without their consent; particularly repudiating the obnoxious stamp act of the Ministry, as arbitrary and oppressive. The Assembly received this address without any extraordinary excitement.

Peter Delancey, Jun., just arrived from England, had been appointed distributor for New York; but a committee of the Sons of Liberty convinced him of the danger of serving in that capacity, and he gave the most satisfactory evidence of his resignation, and of his determination to have no further concern in the enforcement of the act.

Maryland had enforced the resignation of two of her distributors; but Zachary Hood, the third, less wise or more daring, refused to abdicate, and fled to New York for protection. He was burned in effigy at home, and after having been some time within the Fort, under the protection of the Lieutenant-Governor, he retired to Flushing on Long Island.* But he did not escape the vigilance of the New York Committee, who sent a large deputation of the Sons of Liberty to compel him to resign, and to make oath of the sincerity of his renunciation, on the 28th November.†

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* Holt's papers.

† For this salutary interposition, the Committee afterwards received

The next day, Mr. Lott, the clerk of the house, produced and read an anonymous letter, couched in no humble terms, directing the Assembly to stop out of the Lieutenant-Governor's salary, a sum sufficient to repair the damage done to forts and batteries, and to defray the expense of "unspiking the guns," which had been disabled on the night of the riot. Most of the histories assert that the populace spiked the guns, to prevent them from being directed against them; but it was asserted by the people, that they had been disabled by the Governor's order, to prevent them from being used in an attack upon the Fort, which was apprehended by him. They were also required to repeal the "game laws," which were much complained of. The letter was in the incendiary style, and ought to have been passed by in silence, as the effusion of ignorance and brutality. But the friends of Gov. Colden, indignant at the audacious justification of the riot, and the impudent demand that the Governor should be mulcted for the damage to the public property; a part of which, at least, was done by those who were inflicting injury on him; gravely pronounced "that the author or authors were guilty of a high misdemeanor, and a most daring insult on the honor, justice, and authority of the house," and offered fifty pounds for the discovery of the perpetrator.

A Mr. Metcalfe, who had come over passenger in the Minerva, was also, on the 30th November, called upon by

the especial thanks of their Baltimore brethren, in a letter, from which the following is an extract:

Baltimore, 6th March, 1766.

Our Society order us, in a particular manner, to return thanks to your Sons of Liberty, for obliging our fugitive stamp master to resign his odious office; he having fled from the just resentment of his injured countrymen.

We are, Gentlemen, Your M't Ob't Serv'ts,
Tho: Chase, Rob: Alexander,
Wm. Lux, Rob: Adair.
D. Chamier,

To the Sons of Liberty in New York.—*Lamb's papers*, N. Y. His. Soc.

the Committee, to know whether any commission had been given to him in relation to the stamps; and upon his denial, on honor, that he had none, and would accept of none, if offered to him, they were satisfied.*

Mr. McEvers, who without his knowledge had been appointed distributor for the city, had declined to receive the first stamps which had arrived, and had refused to accept his commission. But the people suspecting that he harbored the design of resuming his appointment in case the law should be enforced, called upon him for an absolute and perpetual renunciation; and on the 2d December, procured the act to be signed by two witnesses.†

The Sons of Liberty in New York having effectually secured themselves from the issue of the stamped papers, turned their attention to the protection of their brethren in the other colonies. It was known that the Minerva had brought out stamps for Connecticut; and a notice was published to the association, in the following words:

> 26th December, 1765.
>
> The Sons of Liberty desire their bretheren to be ready at a call, when the public good, the only thing to which they are attentive, requires them to exert themselves.
>
> Meanwhile, let all divisions cease.
>
> A Son of Liberty.†

They accordingly assembled, and at midnight boarded that vessel with a heavy force. The Commander assured them that the papers had been lodged in the Fort on the eleventh of the month. They however made a thorough search for the obnoxious documents, and finding none on board, they quietly dispersed. Not having succeeded in their quest of the papers, the Committee were on the alert to intercept them; and having, by secret advices from Philadelphia, ascertained that they were shipped on board of a brig commanded by a Capt. Haviland, a bright look out was kept for the vessel. At length she made her appearance, was immediately boarded, and ten packages of stamps were found; these were seized, taken on shore to a convenient place, the ship yards, and committed to the flames.*

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* Holt, 1169.

† Holt, 1199.

Ascertaining from the same source, that Lewis Pintard, a merchant of the city, had sent to Philadelphia a bond, and Mediterranean pass, on stamped paper, the Committee found out the person from whom they had been procured, and compelled the delivery of all the papers in his possession; which were in like manner destroyed.† Mr. Pintard found it convenient, in order to elude the vengeance of the populace, to declare an oath, that he was not aware that the documents were stamped, at the time he transmitted them. The Committee, in order to put their brethren abroad on their guard, sent intelligence in both cases, of their proceedings, and received from the association in Philadelphia, the following letters:‡

PHILADELPHIA, Feb'y 15, 1766.

Bretheren:

The spirited manner of your proceedings, not only animates us, your bretheren, embarked in the same good cause in this province, but extends the same influence to the Colonies southward of us, as we are informed by a true Son of Liberty from that quarter. And as your conduct in the present affair of the Mediterranean bonds, is a most striking instance of your perseverance, we shall most cheerfully afford them the satisfaction you intend, by making them acquainted with every particular. Our body in this City is not declared numerous, as unfortunate dissentions in Provincial politics keep us rather a divided people: but when the grand cause calls on us, you may be assured we shall universally stand forth, and appear what we really are,

SONS OF LIBERTY IN PHILADELPHIA.

Let the Committee of New York Sons of Liberty be informed, that as yet, no occasion has required the appointment of a Committee to represent us, but at their desire, we shall immediately enter on that measure.

To Messrs. Lamb, Sears, Robinson, Wiley, and Mott.

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* Holt, 1201.

† Holt, 1207.

‡ Lamb's papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

This letter was written by William Bradford, and enclosed in the following:

Gentlemen:

With great pleasure I rec'd yours just now by express. Rejoice to hear you made a proper use of the infernal stamps. The one which was travelling through this province, in its way to Maryland, was exposed some days; and last night, at 7 o'clock, in a very full Coffee House, was consumed by fire, amidst loud acclamations. You may depend that a watchful eye shall be kept in this Province; and though much divided, yet if the stamps should offer in the least to be distributed, I am sure all would unite in the opposition. I have only had the opportunity of seeing two of my brethren since I received yours, and as the Express hurries me, we have enclosed a letter to the Sons of Liberty; and you may depend on hearing from us, on all occasions, for the suppression of slavery and oppression. Your H'ble Serv't.

WM. BRADFORD.*

Philad., Feb. 15, 1766.
To Messrs. Lamb, Sears, Robinson, Wiley and Mott.

The Committee were soon after called upon to reprove the insolence of Lieut. Hallam,† of His Majesty's vessel, the Garland, who had used some very offensive language in regard to them, and to the Printer who had published their manifestos and proceedings. The Lieutenant, upon being called upon, denied the language imputed to him. He was accordingly shown the affidavit of a Capt. Tolmie, of 20th March, who swore to the express words, and another affidavit in the following terms:*

NEW YORK, ss:

Personally appeared before me, John Bogert, Jun. Esq., one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for the City and County of New York, the undermentioned subscribers, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, Deposed and said that Normand Tolmie, of the said city, being called upon by the Sons of Liberty, to set forth what he knew concerning some expressions that were made by Lieut. Hallam on Tuesday morning last, the said Tolmie declared that he, Hallam, had said that our proceedings, or those of America, were similar to the Rebellion in Scotland in the year

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*Lamb Papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Holt, 1212.

1745: and that the Printer of the Thursday's Gazette, deserved to be hanged for publishing what he had; and for his part, he would not be against putting a halter about his neck.

ISAAC SEARS,
ABRAHAM MONTANYE,
THOMAS IVERS,
WILL'M WILEY,
JAMES DUNSCOMB.*

Sworn before me this 20th March, 1766.
JOHN BOGERT, Jun'r.

Another deposition, to the same purport, was made by John Abeel and James Abeel.*

The great victory was won: the people had taken a position, from which they could not recede without disgrace and destruction. The old party name of the revolution of 1668, was revived, and assumed by the popular party; and its odious opposite, though cast upon all who did not cordially unite in resistance, was acknowledged by none, except the officers and retainers of the Crown. The leaders of the populace did not, however, relax their efforts to keep their followers steady in resistance. Able addresses were published, warning them of the fatal consequences of yielding. If, says one writer, you comply with the act, by using the stamped paper, you fix, you rivet perpetual chains upon your unhappy country. You unnecessarily, you voluntarily establish the detestable precedent, which those who have forged your fetters wish for, to varnish the farther exercise of their new claimed authority. If you quietly bow your necks to the yoke, you prove yourselves ready to receive any bondage, to which your lords and masters shall please to subjugate you."†

The campaign seemed now to be ended, and the issue of the battle was awaited with anxiety and doubt by many, but by a majority of the opposition, with confidence of success. The Parliament had taken into consideration the repeal of the act, and upon preliminary proceedings, there appeared a large majority in favor of that measure. This news had reached Baltimore on the 5th of April, and an express was despatched to New York, with the following letter.

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* Lamb Papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Holt.

BALTIMORE TOWN, April 5, 1766, 8 o'clock, P. M.

Gentlemen:

Capt. Leonard Brooke, arrived yesterday in Petuxent River, from Mess. R. & I. Days, eminent merchants in London, trading to this Province, who wrote Mr. George Maxwell, of the 8th February 1766. We send you, enclosed, a letter from Mr. Maxwell, which, as he is a gentleman of veracity and character, may be credited, and is as follows:

BENEDICT, April 4, 1766.

Dear Sir:

Capt Brooke is arrived; he has brought no papers with him, but Messrs. R. & I. Days write me of the 8th February, "We sincerely congratulate you on the repeal of the Stamp Act, which, thanks to God, is just now resolved here, by a great majority in Parliament."

I am, d'r sir, your mo obt humb servt.
GEORGE MAXWELL,*

The letter brought from Petuxent this morning came just now to hand. On receipt of it, our Sons of Liberty immediately assembled, and ordered this Committee to send off an express with this agreeable news to Philadelphia; to be from thence forwarded to your city. On which we sincerely congratulate you and every well wisher to the liberty and prosperity of America.

We are, with respect, Gentlemen,
Your very humble serv'ts.
PATRICK ALLISON, THOS. CHASE,
ROB. ADAIR, ROB. ALEXANDER,
D. CHAMIER, JOHN MOALE,
W. SMITH, WM. LUX.†

To the Sons of Liberty at New York. Pr express to Phila., to be forwarded from thence.

Similar rumors had been received from other quarters, creating well founded hopes; at length on the 16th May, the ship Harrison, belonging to John Hancock, arrived at Boston, bringing information of the repeal of the law on the

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[*] Lamb Papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

[†] Holt, 1222.

18th March, and on the 20th May the news was announced in the city, and was received with unbounded joy by all classes of the citizens. This satisfaction seemed to pervade all : but the act of repeal was accompanied by a declaratory act, which clained the right of the Ministry to levy taxes on the Colonies; and by a law, obliging the Colonies to provide barracks for such troops, as might be quartered among them; and to furnish them with certain articles at the expense of the Colonies. This act was called the Mutiny Act, and was in common parlance known as the billeting act; and to many presented gloomy auguries of the future. On the fourth of June, being the anniversary of the birth of the King, the people assembled in the fields and erected a flag staff, inscribed to the King, Pitt, and Liberty; and held a jubilee on the occasion. An ox was roasted, twenty-five barrels of strong beer were procured, together with a hogshead of rum, and a sufficient quantity of ingredients to make it into punch. A pole was erected, to the top of which were suspended twenty-five tar barrels. At an other part of the common, twenty-five pieces of cannon were ranged; and amid the thunders of artillery, and to the music of the band playing, God save the King, the standard of England was displayed, greeted by the shouts and huzzas of the populace.

The politic Governor, Sir Henry Moore, the Council, the city authorities, and the military retainers of his Excellency, attended these festivities, and then retired to the Fort to spend the rest of his Majesty's birth day, as became their several functions, and in a manner more congenial to their secret inclinations.

On the 23d of June, even after the declaratory act had been conned by many, and sufficient time had elapsed for digesting its contents, a numerous meeting assembled at the Coffee House,* and resolved to petition the Assembly to cause to be erected a statue to the Honorable William Pitt: † The

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* Holt's Papers.

† There were some, however, who took a clearer view of the character

Assembly received the measure with favor, and resolved in the first place, that provision be made for the erection of an Equestrian Statue of his Majesty George the Third, for his benignity and condescension, and to cause a statue of brass to be erected to the Right Honorable William Pitt, Esquire. And with more justice, they appropriated means to provide a piece of plate, of the value of one hundred pounds, for John Sargent, the faithful agent of the Colonies.*

While yet the people were in the good humor, which the Governor's conciliatory policy had created; he communicated to the House of Assembly his instructions from the Ministry; and among other requisitions, he called upon them to comply with the terms of the Mutiny Act, and to make provision for a reinforcement of troops expected to arrive from England. This law, which had been passed in December, '65, shortly after the knowledge of the riot of November had reached the cabinet, was well calculated to alarm all, who had favored opposition to the Stamp Act; and if any doubted its intention, the declaratory law, which accompanied the repeal of that act, was sufficient to open their eyes to its alarming consequences. Some of the provisions of the Mutiny bill are as follows:

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of Pitt, and of the motive of his services to America, who were not unwilling to see republished, some time afterwards, the pasquinades of the English papers, reflecting on the Minister and his proselyte, of which the following is a specimen :

"The Pitt, a first rate, being much damaged in the head, in a late cruise on the coast of Scotland, is *paid off*, and laid up at *Chatham;* where she is to serve as a store ship. On examination, her timbers, which were supposed to be true English heart of oak, turned out to be nothing more than *Scotch fir*, bought up by the *Favorite*, from Mount Stewart, in Buteshire, and hewn out by him, into a proper form, at his dock-yard, near the *pay office*, Westminster.

It is much to be feared, also, since this unlucky discovery, that the timbers of the Britannia, another first rate, will all be found unsound, and that most of the ships in the government service, will turn out to be composed of the same rotten materials."—*Holt*, 1238.

* Holt's Papers.

"And whereas, there are several barracks, in several places in His Majesty's said dominions in America; or some of them, provided by the Colonies for lodging of soldiers, in view of quarters; for the ease and conveniency, as well of the inhabitants in such Colonies, as of the soldiers so put out, and placed in such barracks, or in hired, or uninhabited houses, out houses, barns, and other buildings. They shall be from time to time furnished and supplied there, by the persons to be authorized and appointed for that purpose, by the Governor and Council of each respective province; or upon neglect or refusal of such Governor and Council, in any province; then by two justices of the peace, residing in or near such places, with candles, fire, vinegar, salt, bedding, and utensils for cooking their victuals, and small beer, or cider, not exceeding five pints, or half a pint of rum, mixed with a quart of water, to each man, without paying therefor,

Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the respective provinces shall pay unto such persons, &c."*

The more sagacious of the opposition viewed this law, as it was, an incipient step towards establishing a standing army in the Colonies, to overawe the people, and enforce obedience to the acts of the Ministry. And the more resolved and intrepid of the Sons of Liberty, banded themselves to resist compliance with its mandates ; the ostensible reasons of which, were for the preservation of the public property, and the protection of the citizens from the violence of popular tumults.

Requisitions † had been made upon the Assembly by the Lieutenant Governor, for supplies under the act, and a committee, was raised to take them into consideration, and the House, nem. con., passed the following resolves of their Committee.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that when his Majesty's forces are quartered in barracks belonging to the King, they are always furnished with the necessaries required to be provided by the aforementioned act, without any expense to the counties in which they are quartered ; and therefore

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*Holt's Papers.

†Holt's Papers, and Journal of the Assembly.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that as there are barracks belonging to his Majesty in this city, and in the city of Albany, sufficient to accommodate double the number of forces contained in the return laid before the General Assembly ; the application to them, appears altogether unnecessary at present.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that if any should be necessary for quartering troops on their march, and supplying them with what is required by the aforesaid act, the House ought to consider thereof, after the expense is incurred.

These requisitions were extremely unpalatable to the Assembly, who were unwilling to establish a precedent for an object so palpably designed to strengthen the arm of the Government, at the expense of the Colonies. They informed the Governor, that there was a sum at his disposal of certain appropriations of 1762 : and that they were willing a part of this should be used for the supply of two battalions and one company of artillery, for one year ; excluding the salt, vinegar, and liquors, required by the act, as unusual.

The Governor was displeased with this limitation of the required supply; but he consented to receive it, risking the hazard of the royal negative to the act : And in his despatches to the Minister, he informed him that the gratitude of the Colonists had not been commensurate with the signal marks of favor bestowed upon them; and that what had been granted, had been rather extorted from their fears, than yielded by their loyalty. His Excellency also laid before the Assembly his Majesty's commands, that the damages inflicted upon the property of his officers by the rioters, should be paid for. But the Committee reported, that so far as Lieut. Governor Colden was concerned, he had suffered only through his own misconduct, and they refused payment. The Committee* had also in charge the claims of Major James, whose property had suffered on the same occasion, and reported in favor of granting compensation to him. This invidious distinction could not be gratifying to the already incensed Lieut. Governor, and he loudly, and with reason, complained of the injustice.

The discomfiture of the Ministry could not fail to be galling to the officers of the crown: and though the Governor, and the more discreet, dissembled their disgust, yet there were not wanting many who took little pains to conceal their dissatisfaction. The soldiers, probably aware of the secret feelings of their officers, were not backward in exhibiting, on all occasions, their hostility to the populace, and to display the usual insolence of the military character. Chafed by the unrestrained joy of the colonists, and perhaps provoked by some exuberant display of the triumph they had achieved, some soldiers of the 28th regiment, quartered in the barracks, on the 10th of August, cut down the flag staff,† the raising of which had been effected with so much harmony, and under such auspicious circumstances. The evening of the next day, the people peaceably assembled to reinstate their standard. In this they were interrupted by the soldiers and brutally insulted: the infuriated vassals of the crown assailing them with drawn bayonets; and as the unarmed people were retreating, several of the most respectable of the citizens were wounded by the weapons of the assailants.‡

Among these were Isaac Sears, a member of the Committee, and John Berrien, a prominet Son of Liberty. Complaint was made of this outrage; and the depositions of Theophilus Hardenbrook and Peter Vandervoort, were taken before the Mayor, charging the soldiers with having, without provocation, commenced the assault.

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* Journals of the Assembly. † Holt, 1232. ‡ Id. 1233.

As might have been expected, the soldiers were countenanced by their superiors; and Major Arthur Brown, with the utmost insolence, told the Mayor he would prove the whole charge an utter falsehood. Capt. Sears then made oath to the truth of the affidavit, and it was farther corroborated by the oaths of John Berrien, Jun'r, Cornelius Berrien, Philip Will, and Ephraim Brasher. The flag-staff was again erected, and the military, probably restrained by the orders of the Governor, left it to stand unmolested.

For a while, this eye-sore to the King's officers remained undisturbed; most likely because no popular meetings occurred; but on the 23d of September* it was again prostrated, and two days afterwards restored by the people, without any outbreak of military insolence.

The Governor was not satisfied with the recusancy of the Assembly, in not yielding full compliance with the Mutiny Act; and was desirous of bringing them into more liberal notions of their duty of obedience to the King's rescript. The bad conduct of the soldiers, subsisting upon the extorted bounty of the people, could not have a favorable tendency towards the increase of supplies from their representatives; and for some time the occupants of the barracks were restrained from farther aggressions. But not all the prudence and policy of the Governor, could prevent frequent ebulitions of suppressed malignity. The houses of several citizens in the fields were forcibly entered on the 23d October,† and on the 3d November, one of the obnoxious red-coats broke into the dwelling of a peaceable and industrious cartman‡ and after wounding him with his bayonet, most brutally hamstrung his horse; depriving him of the service of the animal, whose labor was absolutely necessary to the support of his family. It does not appear that this atrocious act was followed by any judicial investigation; and it only produced renewed notices of the regulations against furnishing sentinels on duty with liquor.

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* Holt, 1238.

† Holt. 1242.

‡ Idem, 1244.

The Assembly had been prorogued to the 7th of October, and afterwards to the 6th of November; and shortly after the meeting the Governor, on the 17th of November, communicated to that body the negative of the King to the bill of supply for the troops, and Lord Shelburne's instructions, which contained this emphatic admonition: "I am ordered to signify to you at the same time, that it is the indispensable duty of his subjects in America, to obey the acts of the Legislature of Great Britain. The King both expects, and requires, a due and cheerful obedience to the same; and it can not be doubted that his Majesty's province of New York, after the lenity of Great Britain so recently extended to America," &c. And the Governor farther enforces the Minister's letter in the following language: "I flatter myself that on a due consideration of this letter, no difficulties can properly arise, or the least objection be made, to the provision for the troops, as required by the act of Parliament."*

On the 15th December, the Assembly, by William Nichol their speaker, answered the Governor's requisition, and set up a construction of the law somewhat extraordinary for a statute so explicitly worded. They respectfully represent, that they understand that part of the law, only applicable to soldiers on "the march:" that they have contributed to the supply of two battalions and one company of artillery, a greater burthen than had been sustained by any other colony: "That they are willing to support his Majesty's government, as is most suitable to the circumstances of the people they represent." And, in conclusion, say "that we can not consent with our duty to our constituents, to put it in the power of any person, (whatever confidence we may have in his prudence and integrity), to lay such burthens on them."†

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* Holt, 1247.

† Journals of the Assembly.

This was a bold attitude assumed by the Assembly, which was followed by important movements of the Mother Country. In the original draft of the answer, there were some expressions still more repulsive to the feelings of royalty, than those afterwards adopted; but Sir Henry Moore, who seems to have been really desirous of avoiding collision with the Colonies, took the trouble of waiting upon the House, who were then sitting out of town, in consequence of the prevalence of the small pox in the city, and procured an alteration of the objectionable passages.* Soon after this address of the House they were prorogued by the Governor. The Sons of Liberty had dissolved their association on the repeal of the Stamp Act; but the old leaders were on the alert on all occasions, and vigilantly watching the movements of the Ministerialists. It is to be presumed that their spirit infused itself into this patriotic assembly, and encouraged it to take the stand of independence which characterized their address. The agent of the association in London was Nicholas Ray, with whom the following correspondence took place:

London, 28 July, 1766.

Gentlemen:

I flattered myself to have heard from you by the last ships, but am informed your society is dissolved, which I am glad to hear, as the cause of your complaint is removed. But I think it necessary to assure you, that the continual account we had of the Sons of Liberty through all North America, had its proper weight and effect.

As our gracious sovereign rules over none but free men, and in which he glories, it therefore can not offend him, that his numerous and faithful subjects in America, claim the appellation of Sons of Liberty. Permit me, therefore, to recommend ten or twenty of the principal of you, to form yourselves into a club, to meet once a month, under the name of Liberty Club, and forever, on the 18th March, or 1st May, give notice to the whole body to commemorate your deliverance; spending the day in festivity and joy. I beg pardon for taking the liberty to advise you, but I am firmly of opinion, that it will have such effect as you wish.

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* Holt's papers.

I have the honour to be, Gent'n,
Your most humble ser'vt,
NICH'S RAY.

P. S. The commercial acts and free ports, which we lately sent to all the Colonies, I believe will give you pleasure.

To the Sons of Liberty in New York.

The following letter was written in reply:

NEW YORK, 10th October, 1766.

Mr. Nicholas Ray, Sir:

Your esteemed favor of the 28th July last, we have duly received, and observe with the greatest regret, your disappointment at not hearing from us agreeably to your expectations; which, permit us to assure you, was not owing to any remissness on our part, or want of respect, but to the dissolution of our society, which happened immediately upon the repeal of the Stamp Act.

Your proposal with regard to a number of us forming ourselves into a club, we have already had under consideration; but as it is imagined that some inconveniences would arise should such a club be established, just at this time, we must postpone the same, till it may appear more eligible. At the same time we take the liberty to assure you and all our good friends on your side of the water, who so nobly exerted themselves in behalf of us, and the expiring liberty of their country, that we still do, and ever shall, retain the most grateful sense of the favors we have received; and that we shall use our utmost endeavors, consistent with loyalty, to keep up that glorious spirit of liberty which was so rapidly and so generally kindled, throughout this extensive continent. In order to which, we shall not fail, hereafter, to celebrate the anniversary of the repeal, with every demonstration of gratitude and joy, on the memorable and never to be forgotten, eighteenth day of March.

We have the honor to be, in behalf of the Sons Liberty,
Sir—Your most Obedient and
Oblig'd Hum. Servants,
ISAAC SEARS, JOHN LAMB,
EDWARD LAIGHT, CHAS. NICOLL,
FLORES BANCKER, JOSEPH ALLICOKE.

To Mr NICHOLAS RAY, Merchant, London.*

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* Lamb's papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

The organization of the committee, as proposed in Mr. Ray's letter, was for a while postponed; but before the first anniversary of the repeal, the old leaders of the association, who had so well performed their duty, banded themselves for the same patriotic purposes; and all continued firm and vigorous in the cause, until the final overthrow of the regal power. On the first anniversary of the repeal, the people met at the Liberty Pole, to celebrate their triumph with the usual festivities; and at the appointed hour, on the 18th March, they collected at Bardin's, to dine and drink their usual toasts. These were high seasoned with loyalty, and could not justly have given any offence; but such manifestations of victory were becoming exceedingly unpleasant to the King's officers, and the soldiers could not endure the sight of processions to commemorate their monarch's defeat, although they were ostensibly ordered, to perpetuate his honor and glory. They assembled in the night, and cut down the obnoxious symbol.* The people, the next day, erected another, secured with iron bands, and better adapted to resist the assaults of its enemies;† these were repeated at night, without success. On the next night, the 20th, they made an attempt to blow it up with gun powder, and this too, failed. The patriots now resolving to guard their flag staff, set a strong watch for its protection, and when the soldiers again assembled to carry their designs into execution, they found the pole too formidably defended, and retreated in discomfiture.‡ The next night, a party marched with loaded muskets, to the flag staff, and facing towards the house at which the meeting had been held, they fired a volley in that direction. Two balls took effect in the building; one passed through it, and another lodged in the timber. This daring outrage, probably, was not encouraged by their commanders, for upon making another attempt upon the Liberty Pole, on the 22d, the succeeding night, they were interrupted by an officer, and ordered to desist.

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* Holt's papers. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

CHAPTER III.

Preparations to enforce the Mutiny Act.—Assembly yield a farther Supply.—Provide for a part of the Damages of Nov. '65.—Deprived of their Privileges by the King.—Commissioners of Customs appointed.—Tariff of Duties on Tea, *&c.*—New Assembly.—Address Parliament for Restoration.—Dissatisfaction with the Imposts.—-Non-importation League revived.—Massachusetts Circular.—-The King forbids the Reading.—The House Remonstrates.—Massachusetts refuses Compliance with the Mutiny Act.—Boston invested.—Governor demands farther Supplies.—Non-importation League rigidly enforced.—Rumors of the Repeal of the Duties.—Governor Moore dies.—Celebration of the first Nov. 1769.—Gov. Colden not noticed.

The Parliament had been defeated in its first effort to establish the great system of colonial taxation; and probably from inability to enforce it, for the want of a sufficient military force in the Colonies or alarmed by the accession of the Canadian and Nova Scotian, and even some of their insular provinces, had consented to retrace its steps, and rescind the law. But the retrogade movement was only to assume a safer and more tenable position. The obnoxious stamp bill was indeed repealed, but the declaratory Act, claimed the Americans as " born thralls" of the Crown; and though the visible " collar " of serfdom was removed by the repeal, the Minister was determined to fetter the Colonies, in a manner less palpable to the senses of the multitude. Determined that his next attempt should not fail for the want of sufficient support, he resolved to enforce the Mutiny bill, in order to establish an adequate military force throughout the Colonies. In the other provinces, and partially in New York, the scheme had succeeded; but the sturdy Bostonians had resisted the insidious and dangerous encroachment. The qualified assent of the Assembly of New York, was not agreeable to the popular party, and the old leaders of the Sons of Liberty, arrayed themselves against it: yet, weakened by the defection of many who had manfully resisted the Stamp Act, they were compelled to proceed with great circumspection. Although the Mutiny bill, was in its tendency more alarming than the obnoxious law which had been resisted with so much unanimity, and was followed by other measures, obviously incipient to a forcible execution of the arbitrary views of the ministry, it did not create the same united resistance; and the great bond of union was essentially weakened. Still there was no relaxation on the part of their leaders to keep alive the spirit of the people; and the fruits of these energies was the bold answer of the House of Assembly, to the Governor's message, notwithstanding it was backed by the formidable rescript of the King. News had arrived of extensive military preparations, and the British prints were filled with the indignation of the ministerial writers at the recusancy of this highly favored colony; and with threats of the meditated vengeance of an angered sovereign.

The Assembly became alarmed, and notwithstanding every effort was made to keep them firm in their resolves, on the 3d June they yielded a farther compliance, and appropriated three thousand five hundred pounds, to defray the expenses of the troops for the preceding; and a further supply of three thousand pounds for the current year: and also granted an appropriation, to indemnify the agent of Major James, for damages sustained in the outbreak of November 1765. The threatened blow was not averted by this partial submission. The Governors of the Colonies were ordered to prohibit the assembling of any Congress similar to that of October '65: and the colony of New York, notwithstanding they had been far more compliant with the demands of the Government than the province of Massachusetts, was heavily visited with the vengeance of the Parliament. The functions of its Assembly, on the 29th June were declared to be abrogated; and the Governor and Council were inhibited from assenting to any acts of the House, until the Mutiny Act was unequivocally acknowledged and submitted to.

This high handed stretch of power was every where received with indignation and alarm. The people of Boston were loud in denunciation of it, and in the expression of their sympathy for their bretheren of New York, suffering under Ministerial tyranny, and both parties seemed preparing for the approaching contest. The time was fast approaching when the Assembly was to expire, by its septennial limitation, and after granting a further supply of fifteen hundred pounds, for the support of the troops, the Governor, on the 11th February, 1768, in form, dissolved them. With the act to humble the Assembly of New York, came others of a more general character. These were, "To establish Commissioners of the Customs in America;" "To compensate the stamp officers, who had been deprived by the people;" "A tariff of duties upon various articles of the first necessity, with an act, taking off the duty on tea consumed in England, and imposing a duty on that brought into America;" and to encourage the East India Company to crowd their commodities into the colonial market, a drawback was granted, upon the exportation from the mother country, to the American provinces. The colonists of Massachusetts were the first to raise the cry against the newly imposed duties, and recommended the revival of the non-intercourse league. They had flatly refused compliance with the Mutiny Bill, and recommended to their sister colonies to follow their example. The patriotic ladies, determined to relinquish their favorite beverage, and entered into associations to discourage the consumption of tea.

Writs for the election of a new Assembly were issued, and while the canvass was proceeding, the newspapers were busy in decrying the system of open voting, and recommended another mode, better adapted to secure the independence of the electors. Complaint was made of the practice of self nominations and of soliciting votes, with its usual concomitants. Much murmuring was heard, as it has since been in latter times, against the preponderance of representatives of the legal profession in our Legislatures, and labored articles, pro and con, were circulated.*

The merchants carried it, and Isaac Low, John Cruger, John Alsop, and James Delancey were elected, who each gave fifty pounds to the poor of the city.†

But the chief efforts were directed, to enlighten the people in regard to the true effect of the acts of the Ministry, and to warn them against their future designs. The English papers were crowded with labored defences of their Government, and loud in decrying the parricidal operations of the Colonists.

On the other hand, equal ability and industry were exhibited in confuting the ministerial sophistry, and in setting the matter before the people in its proper light. The farmers' letters had helped to dissipate the mystification of some of the writers, who, although they admitted the impolicy of open taxation, claimed the right to impoverish the provinces by indirect impositions; and other publications were assidiously exposing the fallacy of the arguments, used by the defenders of the crown, and expounding the true meaning of their writings to the people.

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* A Card.—Jack Bowline and Tom Hatchway, send their services, (damn compliments) to the freeholders and freemen of the city of New York, and beg they would, in order to try how the land lies, take an observation, and they will find: *First*, that the good people of this city are supported by trade, and the merchants: *Second*, that the lawyers are supported by the people.

Ship Defiance, Feb'y 20, 1768.

Reply. A Card.—Mr. Axe and Mr. Hammer, being selected by a number of their brother freeholders and freemen of the city of New York, to return their hearty thanks to their good friends, Mr. Hatchway and Mr. Bowline, have consented; and think proper to do it in this public manner, and to assure them that the "leather aprons," (a very respectable body) are clearly of their opinion; that it is *trade* and not *law*, that supports our families. And honest Jack Jolt, the cartman, says he never got six pence for riding law books, though he gets many pounds from the Merchants. So with many thanks for your sensible good card; we say as you say, "No lawyers to the Assembly."

Tradesmen's Hall, Feb. 29, 1768.

† John Lamb, Isaac Sears, and Ezekiel Williams supported this ticket. Lamb was probably the author of the card. Vide handbills, Historical Society.

The new Assembly was now chosen, and preparatory to their meeting, the popular writers addressed them in their usual style of boldness; reminding them of the grievances of the people, and the duty of their representatives to adhere with firmness against the coercive measures of the Minister. The House, on assembling, addressed petitions to the Parliament, and claimed exemption from the authority of the crown, exercised in any other form than that of prorogation. The appeals of the citizens were not without effect on the Assembly, and were responded to, by the greater part of the community with much patriotism. The merchants and traders, resorted to the same artillery which had proved so formidable, in compelling the repeal of the Stamp Act. They renewed, in its fullest extent, the non-importation league of 1765, and the tradesmen of the city, gave ardent and active coöperation, with the importers and dealers. They engaged not to purchase any articles of a foreign importation whatever, and to discourage others from buying of those who should infringe the patriotic league.

Gen. Gage, the commander-in-chief of the forces, had continued to hold his head quarters in New York. He had recently returned from a tour of inspection and observation in Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and, with all his staff, prepared to visit the eastern colonies upon the same mission. Upon his arrival at Boston, he was received with marked respect. The conciliatory course pursued by that gentleman in New York, three years before, was remembered to his advantage; and in the addresses which were made to him, he was assured of the high respect of the citizens for him, and of their great regard for the mother country. The General received their expressions of respect and zeal with complaisancy; and the public were soon afterwards informed of the expected arrival of two regiments from Halifax, despatched for their especial benefit.

The Assembly of Massachusetts had written a circular letter to the legislatures of the other colonies, announcing what they had done, and what they farther intended to do. This document had met the decided reprobation of Lord Hillsborough, the newly appointed Secretary of State for the affairs of the Colonies; and he issued peremptory orders to Sir Henry Moore, forbidding it to be received and answered by the Assembly of New York. The Governor had, on the 3d November, rendered the accounts of the barrack master, relative to the expenditure of money granted for the supply of the troops; vouching for the fidelity and economy of the disbursements, and requiring further supplies. He, on the 14th, transmitted Lord Hillsborough's mandate against holding any correspondence with other colonies, and called upon the Legislature to yield compliance. A warm debate ensued, and the House conceiving that their privileges were infringed, remonstrated against the interference of the Ministry. The Governor pressed upon the Assembly the necessity of strict obedience, and threatened to dissolve them in case of resistance.

The leaders of the people sustained the House in their remonstrances, and at the same, time promulged their own opinions of the duty of the Legislature, in regard to the other obnoxious acts of the Government. "Let these truths (say they) be indelibly impressed upon our minds, that we can not be *free* without being *secure* in our *property;* that we can not be secure in our *property,* if without our consent, others may, as *by right,* take it away; that taxes imposed by Parliament do thus *take it away;* that *duties,* laid for the sole purpose of raising money, are *taxes;* that attempts to lay such, should be instantly and firmly opposed."

The people of Boston, who had so generously sympathized with New York upon the severe measures of the Government, had themselves been visited with similar inflictions. On the 14th of September, Mr. Lamb, one of the Committee of Correspondence for New York, received a letter from John

Hancock and others,* select men of Boston, complaining of the virtual dissolution of their Assembly by the refusal of Governor Bernard to order a new election. This circular recommended another convention, for purposes of consultation, and concentration of public opinion; and to prepare the people for ultimate determination. The Assembly of Massachusetts had not provided for the quartering and supply of the troops; and the Governor was determined to obviate the difficulty occasioned by this neglect; and procure quarters and supplies, if any person could be found willing to enter into contracts to that effect, and trust to the appropriations of a future Assembly for indemnity. A rumor had reached New York, while the fleet destined for Boston was hourly expected, that the citizens, exasperated at the Governor's conduct, had risen en masse, taken possession of Castle William, and driven the Governor and the officers of the crown on board a frigate in the harbor. But these reports were dispelled by another, announcing the arrival of the expected armament.

The ships were brought up, and ranged opposite to the town, with springs upon their cables; and the troops were disembarked under cover of the broadsides of the fleet. The day was exceedingly stormy, and one regiment, being unprovided with camp equipage, the Colonel commanding it, waiving the demand for quarters, begged of the magistrates permission to occupy some apartments in Faneuil Hall, until other quarters could be procured. This request was humanely complied with; but the officer was in no haste to decamp, and for some time continued to occupy the Hall, to the great discomfort of the magistrates and the citizens.

The long smothered vengeance of an exasperated Government, was now in full flame; and the devoted Bostonians were made to feel its utmost fury. Their brethren of New York repaid their former sympathy with interest, and expressed the deepest commisseration for their sufferings, and what was more effectual, gave them the strongest assurances of their vigorous support. And to show that their reprobation of the exercise of arbitrary power in other colonies, kept pace with the determined hostility to their own persecutors at home, they burned the Governor of Massachusetts, and his Bostonian sheriff, in effigy.

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* Lamb Papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

Governor Moore, in his address of April April 4, 1769, to the Assembly, communicated to them, that the appropriation for the troops of the last session, had been expended in the payment of large arrearages which had accumulated; and required a farther grant for the supply of the forces. The Assembly replied, by setting forth the grievous burthens already borne, and remonstrating against farther impositions. They complained of the suspension of their legislative functions, and of the impost duties raised for mere revenue in the Colonies, as unjust and oppressive. These remonstrances had little weight in extending their privileges, or in establishing their rights; for the Governor, on the 13th April, followed his first message with another, complaining that the Assembly had assumed the right to appoint a colonial agent at London; and called upon them to return to the former and more legitimate mode of appointment by the Governor and Council, the House concurring: citing the example of other colonies as worthy of imitation. The House assured his Excellency that it gave them much pain to differ from his opinion in this respect; and resolved to hold this, with other important matters, subjects of serious counsideration.

While the Eastern colonies, and New York, had revived their non-importation agreements, Pennsylvania had resorted to petitions and remonstrances. Most likely the coercive method had had the greatest effect on the Ministry; but it was given out that these powerful pacific appeals, had wrought some change in the colonial system; and that a repeal of the impost act would probably follow. Whether it was at this time, the serious design of the government to relax, or whether the rumor was given out to weaken the bonds of the non-importationists, can not now be known. If with the latter intention, it was not without its effect; for notwithstanding the redoubled vigilance of the committee of New York, to keep the league unimpaired, many infringed, and were called to a public confession, and declarations of contrition for past offences. On the 21st April, as a more effectual method of detecting transgressions, the board of New York appointed a sub-committee to examine the manifests of every vessel arriving from abroad, in order to discover and punish the offenders.

The Assembly with great reluctance, granted on the 20th May, fifteen hundred pounds to support the troops, and were prorogued to 7th July, and afterwards to the 5th of September.

The rumors of repeal began to gain ground; and on the 27th July, it was reported that the Governor had been notified by Ministers of such an intention. The correspondent of the committee in London, however, cautioned them not to place too much reliance upon the report, or too much confidence in Ministerial promises. The Assembly were now, probably in consequence of the illness of Sir Henry Moore, the Governor, farther prorogued by proclamation, to the tenth of October; but before that period arrived, the Governor, on the 11th September, died, much lamented by the citizens; and what rendered their grief more poignant, the reins of power were again to fall into the hands of Lieut. Governor Colden. The non-importation committee continued to exert themselves with the utmost vigilance, and the people were not backward in sustaining them in their labors. To make the league more effectual against the mother country, they set their faces against all who, directly or indirectly, supported the customs, and the officers appointed to collect them. Two very obnoxious informers had procured a small adventure of wine, the hard earnings of a worthy son of Neptune, to be seized for a breach of the Custom House regulations.

The sympathies of the people were so strongly excited for the sufferer that, taking the matter into their own hands, they revived a mode of punishment in vogue during the days of the Crusaders, and, on the 30th September, administered a coat of tar and feathers to the delinquents.

The indications of a change of opinion in regard to the benignity of the King, and the fidelity of Lord Chatham to the rights of the Colonies, had been exhibited in some of the celebrations of the 18th March; and now began more fully to display themselves. The radicals, headed by Lamb, Sears and others, took more extended views of the intent and effect of the repeal; and all who had studied the declaratory act with sagacity, seemed to be returning to first principles. These took an earlier epoch as the true era of emancipation, and established a political platform which formed the nucleus of opposition, and a rallying point in future emergencies. The first of November 1765, was as important in the annals of the patriots of the colonies, as that of the taking of the Bastile to revolutionary France. Its anniversary had now arrived, and the Committee resolved to celebrate it, with the proper solemnities. The toasts drank on that occasion did not embody the usual quantum of loyalty and devotion to the House of Hanover, and reverence for the memory of Pitt, which distinguished the repeal celebrations. Lord Chatham was dropped, and the temper of the whole proceedings significantly indicate the feelings of the people, which were afterwards more pointedly exhibited.

A few of the toasts, as specimens of that temper, are worthy of being remembered.

1. May the North American Colonies, fully enjoy the British Constitution.

2. The King, as the faithful executor of the aforesaid.

3. His honest counsellors.

5. The great and General Court of Massachusetts Bay, as first promoters of the Congress of 1765.

6. The major part of the aforesaid Congress.

7. The patriotic House of Burgesses of Virginia.

9. All the Houses of Assembly on the continent, who have nobly opposed arbitrary power.

12. May the last resolutions of the great and General Court of Massachusetts Bay, and the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, in not granting supplies to His Majesty's troops, be universally adopted in North America.

No notice was taken of Lieut.-Governor Colden; and it was very apparent that he had not gained popularity by contrast with the lamented Governor Moore.*

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* Holt's paper.

CHAPTER IV.

New Assembly meet.—Governor Colden gives Hopes of the Repeal of the Duties.—Demands further Supplies.—Recommends issue of Bills of Credit.—House pass the Bill.—Full compliance with the Mutiny Act.—Alarm of the People.—Great Meeting in the Fields.—Assembly denounces as Libels the Papers calling the Meeting.—Lamb ordered to the Bar of the House.—Examined and dismissed.—Insolence of the Military.—Interfere to prevent the Enforcement of the Non-importation League.—Liberty Pole assailed.—Montangnie's House forced.—Fourth Liberty Pole destroyed.—Meeting of the Citizens.—Riotous proceedings of the Soldiery.—Battle of Golden Hill—and before the new Jail.—Corporation reject Petition for Permission to re-erect the Pole.—A piece of ground purchased.—Fifth Liberty Pole erected.

On the 22d Nov. 1769, the Assembly were in session, and had received the announcement of the probable repeal of some of the onerous imposts. They were informed that the appropriations for the troops had been expended and large debts incurred beyond the supply, and the Governor demanded a farther subsidy. To this unpleasant intimation, the House for that time made no answer. It was not long, however, before an ominous conjunction appeared between the head of the powerful and influential family of Delancey and the Governor, who had hitherto stood in direct opposition to each other; and a project was broached, which gave much alarm to the leaders of the popular party. This was an act for the emission of bills of credit to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be loaned to the people; and the interest to be applied towards the support of the Colonial Government. With this bill was connected a grant of one thousand pounds from the treasury, and one thousand more of the bills about to be issued, to be applied for the support of the troops. The incipient proceedings to this measure, passed the committee of the whole House by a majority of one vote only.

Although, since 1766, the appropriations for the troops, with certain restrictions and qualifications, had been made by the Assembly, they had excited only murmurs of discontent from the popular party, without any demonstrations of extraordinary reprobation. That party now perceived, or imagined they perceived, the germ of a more effectual mode of subjecting the House, than by the usual resort to prorogation, and dissolution. The novel project of resuming the issue of bills of credit, against the direct provisions of an act of Parliament; the countenance of the Governor and Council to the scheme; coupled with the distasteful and unqualified compliance with the Mutiny Act; gave well grounded suspicions that combinations, dangerous to the safety of the community, had been formed against them. A very exciting handbill appeared on the 16th December, signed a Son of Liberty,* was published, addressed to the betrayed inhabitants of the city. This publication denounced the scheme of issuing bills of credit, as covering some insidious design, and unlikely to meet the assent of the King. That the unqualified yielding of the subsidy demanded for the troops was a direct acknowledgment of the right to exact it, and of the justice and propriety of the impost duties, and in its tendency was a death blow to the mercantile system of coercion, by means of the non-importation league. That it was the fruit of a subtle design of the Ministry to divide and distract the Colonies; and the Assembly were pointed to the firm stand taken by Massachusetts and South Carolina, and exhorted to imitate their example. It called upon the majority, who had passed the law, to reconsider and rescind their vote, and to repudiate corrupt combinations, the effect of cupidity on the part of the Governor, and of ambition in a powerful family; who, from being his bitterest denunciators had suddenly become his warmest supporters: and closed with the call of a meeting in the fields to take the sense of the people on the occasion.

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* Handbills Historical Society and Holt's paper.

The call was effectual, and the next day a very large Assembly convened. This meeting was addressed by Mr. Lamb, who was deputed to explain the object of the call, and the design and tendency of this movement of the Assembly, and to put the question, whether the people would approve or reprobate the proceedings of the Legislature. The vote for disapproval was almost unanimous, and Mr. Lamb and others were appointed a Committee to convey the sense of the meeting to the representatives of the city in the Assembly, to be communicated by them to that body. This duty was perfomed, the members receiving the Committee with *decency;* but declining to propose a recision of their vote, alledging that they believed the law was satisfactory to the people. This the Committee denied, and a writer, in strong terms, under the signature of Legion,* complained of the subserviency of the Legislature, in basely abandoning the interests of the people. The House took fire at both these publications: they voted them both libellous, and offered one hundred pounds for the detection of the writer of the first, and fifty pounds for the discovery of the perpetrator of the second. Philip Schuyler, a patriot upon all occasions, voted alone in the negative, on both questions.†

On the 19th, on the motion of a very loyal member, Mr. Denoyelles, Mr. Lamb, who had harangued the meeting, and exposed the insidious and dangerous nature of the proceedings of the House, and who was suspected, with reason, of having had a prominent hand in the first, and of being sole author of the second article, was ordered to appear at the bar of the Assembly, to answer in the premises, as the "abettor" of the obnoxious publications. In answer to the interrogations, Mr. Lamb justified all he had done, declaring that it was nothing more than what every Englishman had an undoubted right to do; and the record says, " it not appearing that he had acted in consequence of such libels, he was dismissed. But a better reason can be found for the inaction of the Legislature : the Committee, beside Mr. Lamb, consisted of the following persons, whose names are worthy of record : Isaac Sears, Caspar Wistar, Alexander M'Dougall, Jacobus Van Zandt, Samuel Broome,* Erasmus Williams, and James Van Varck. They caused to be signified to the House, that each and every of them were implicated in the whole transactions, and culpable, if any culpability existed, to the same extent as Mr. Lamb.

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* Handbills His. Soc., and Lamb papers.

† Assembly Journals.

These proceedings, apparently, closed the transactions of the year, and the results which followed, seemed ominous of the decline and downfall of Liberty. The Assembly, no longer composed of those patriots who had resisted the authority of the Crown, and the blandishments of the Governor, had by large appropriations yielded unqualified submission to the Mutiny Act; and the supporters of the Government boasted that the submission was approved by the people. That the act for emitting bills of credit, and for loaning them to the people, and its prospective allurements, had weakened the opposition, was certain. These bills were made legal tender in all dues to the Government, and possessed the essential character of the treasury notes of the present day. They were issued by officers appointed by the Governor and Council, and their effect was to increase the power and patronage of the Crown, under the ostensible object of decreasing the burthens of taxation, and of furnishing a circulating medium to the people, which was much wanted at the time.

* Long after the Revolution a resident of New Haven, in Connecticut; he was grandfather of the talented Theo. S. Fay. The Broomes were, from first to last, staunch patriots; and John Broome, brother of Samuel, in latter times Lieutenant Governor of this State, loaned without interest a large sum of money, to arm and equip M'Dougall's regiment, to enable it to reach the Northern Army.

The passage of this act may be considered the germ of bank legislation, so successful to politicians of aftertimes; and it was in fact the establishment of a government bank, in its worst form, containing no safeguards for the people. That its effect was extensive, and fatal to the union of the popular party is certain. Even Sears, the sturdy patriot, was caught by the lure, and was induced, for a season, to consider the emission of the bills a benefit, more than counterbalancing the dangerous submission to the Mutiny Act. The sagacity of that champion of the people was often at fault, but his zeal was never inactive: for upon being made to discover the snare into which he had fallen, he was among the foremost in the denunciatory proceedings of the 17th December.

On the 4th January, 1770, a report had reached the committee of serious defection in the non-importation league, at Boston, and that even John Hancock had violated the patriotic compact. Rumors injurious to that gentleman had been previously circulated, charging him with having offered to contract for the supply of the troops under the Mutiny Act. This he had vehemently denied; and he repelled, with equal indignation, this second impeachment. Large meetings had been held to procure the passage of an act, establishing the vote by ballot, at future elections; and Mr. Lamb, together with the other persons who had composed the committee on the recent address to the House, were chosen to further the application. In committee of the whole, the bill passed with only five dissentients. But the omnipotence of the Governor's party was secured, and the adherents of the Crown, aware of its injurious effects upon their interests, rallied in defence of the "old and constitutional mode" of the open vote; and the new bill met defeat in the House, by a very large majority.

The inevitable consequences of the Governor's triumph began to exhibit themselves in the insolence of the soldiery; and the spirit of animosity between the officers of the King and the people was hourly increasing: and as the subordinates are often induced to outstrip their superiors in acts of aggression, they were rendered more audacious in their insults, by the recent acts of the Assembly in providing for their support; while the people became more restive at the aggressions of the myrmidons, whose location among them was for the purpose of overawing and reducing them to submission.* A Major Pullaine had interfered with the authority of the Committee, to prevent summary justice from being inflicted upon some notorious violator of the non-importation covenant, and had ordered out a guard for his protection. This act of military assumption was severely reprobated by the people, but was countenanced by the dominant party; and the soldiers, encouraged to despise the power of the people and the civil authorities, resorted to their ancient mode of exhibiting vengeance.

The Liberty Pole had, since the 21st of March, 1767, remained unmolested; and now as popular supremacy seemed to wane, and the adherents of arbitrary power lorded the ascendant, on the 13th January, a party of the 16th Regiment assailed the pole,† and cutting away the supporters, once more attempted to blow it up with gun powder. A few citizens, on the first alarm, gathered in front of the Bardin House, now occupied by Montangnie; and the rioters, desisting from the attempt on the pole, with drawn weapons assaulted the citizens, who retired within the house. The soldiers followed them,‡ forcing their way into the building, bayonet in hand, demolishing the windows, and committing much damage to the house and furniture. One of the unarmed inmates narrowly escaped death from the thrust of a bayonet, which he was fortunately able to parry, and received but a slight injury. Some officers who had been notified of the affray, now arrived, and the soldiers were ordered to the barracks.

The two following nights they made other attempts, which were unavailing. But on the night of the 16th, the third time, under cover of a ruined building belonging to the corporation, which had once been used for barracks, they more secretly and effectually carried on their design, and succeeded in prostrating the pole. This they sawed in pieces, and piled up in front of Montangnie's door. The audacious deed, on the next day, rallied the citizens in good earnest, and three thousand assembled at a call.* Though a force so formidable was convened, no violent retaliation was intended. The meeting passed resolves, that the employment of soldiers off duty, to perform work for the citizens, was injurious to the laboring classes, and that it should be discountenanced. They farther resolved, that all soldiers found armed in the streets, except sentinels and orderly sergeants, and all out of barracks after roll-call, armed or unarmed, should be treated as enemies to the peace of the city; and they pledged themselves to mutual support, in carrying their resolutions into effect. And farther, appointed a committee to move the corporation for permission to demolish the building which had screened the soldiers in their act of violence against the pole.

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* Holt's paper. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

The proceedings of this meeting were followed, next day, by the posting of placards about the city, and handbills thrown into the Mayor's house, using the most abusive, insulting and provoking language; and casting scurrilous epithets upon the Sons of Liberty; challenging them to attempt the destruction of the building alluded to, and putting the authority of the citizens at defiance. This paper was signed "16th Regiment"; and in style of composition was above the ordinary capacity of the rank and file of the army. The abusive publication was put up in open day, and a trio was discovered by Isaac Sears,† Walter Quackenbos and others, in the act of posting them. Sears immediately collared the one, while Quackenbos seized the other with the bundle of papers. A third of the soldiers, drew his bayonet and rushed upon Sears; who, snatching up a ram's horn, the only missile within his reach, hurled it in the face of his assailant; and keeping the rest at bay, Sears, with his associates, marched off the captive delinquents to the Mayor's office.

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* Holt's Paper.

† Handbills Historical Society and Holt's paper.

A reinforcement of twenty, from the lower barracks, now made their appearance; and drawing their cutlasses and bayonets, appeared determined to rescue the captives. The unarmed citizens, who had gathered in numbers at these threatening demonstrations, seized upon such means of defence as were within their grasp, and wrenching the stakes from the carts and sleighs about them, they stood upon the defensive. The Mayor now ordered the soldiers to their barracks, and, after much demur, they retreated towards Golden hill; the citizens following, and some of them peaceably remonstrating against the violence of their proceedings. At Golden hill, the military were again reinforced, and one, supposed to be an officer in disguise, who was clad in neat buckskin small clothes and silk stockings, but who in other respects seemed to be a common soldier, gave the order to draw and cut their way through the citizens, who had gathered in considerable numbers. The order to charge was obeyed, and a furious attack was made upon the populace, who had hitherto refrained from any violence. The few who had any means of resistance, ranged themselves in front of their defenceless friends, but one of them, losing his clumsy weapon in the affray, was compelled to retreat, followed by several of the rioters with drawn swords and bayonets: and as Francis Field, a Quaker citizen, was standing in his door way, one of them aimed a blow at him, which was partly intercepted by the brick work, but which still had sufficient force to inflict a large wound in his cheek. Three other citizens were wounded; one thrust through with a bayonet; and at some distance from thence, a sailor was cut down. In addition to this, a lad was hurt in the head, and driven into a neighboring house for shelter; and as he was entering, a thrust was made with a bayonet at a woman who opened the door of the house into which he had escaped. A citizen who had the good fortune to be armed with a cane, and who had been conspicuous in assisting to secure the two culprits carried before the Mayor, was now attacked by two soldiers at once, but made good his defence for sometime; and upon a bystander putting a halbert into his hand, as his weapon was disabled, the assailants retreated to the hill. Another inhabitant, coming out of his door, was attacked by several; but having an efficient weapon at hand, made successful defence of his citadel.

The whole party had gathered to the hill, and the citizens, notwithstanding the disparity of weapons, kept them in occupation, and hemmed them in on every side. Many of the soldiers were disabled and disarmed, and more sanguinary vengeance might have been taken by the populace; but they contented themselves with depriving the adversary of their weapons. Another reinforcement of soldiers approached in rear of the party which surrounded the hill, and called to their comrades to charge through the citizens, and they would support them by an attack upon the rear; but a party of officers now appearing, the military were ordered to the barracks. Many of the soldiers were severely wounded, and one badly cut on the shoulder. Thus ended the day, and the night passed by without disturbance, except from a straggling party, who assaulted and wounded two lamp-lighters.

On the nineteenth, a soldier attacked a woman coming from market, and thrust a bayonet through her cloak and clothing. About noon, a battle began between some of the military and a party of sailors, who in these affrays generally sided with the people, and one old seaman was thrust through the body. While this contention was raging, the Mayor appeared on the ground, and ordered all to disperse. The soldiers disobeying, the magistrate ordered their officers to be called; but the military, with drawn bayonets, intercepted the messenger and forbade him to proceed. A body of the people now coming up Broadway, the soldiers dispersed.

In the afternoon, as a number of the citizens had assembled in front of the new jail, a party of the military appeared in sight, and although there was no necessity for their disturbing the Assembly, they charged in bravado, up to the rear. The inhabitants opened to the right and left, and gave them free passage. Resolved to provoke an affray, they attempted to disarm some of the citizens of their canes. They were now indulged in their desire, and a battle began, in which some of the soldiers were disarmed, and the party driven to the barracks. One citizen was hurt in the face, and one of the assailants severely wounded in the shoulder; while another, who had been found prominent in the affair of the preceding day, was arrested and committed. On the next day after the second affray, the Mayor isssued an order that no soldiers should be out of the barracks on duty, except accompanied by a non-commissioned officer; and notified the citizens, that when soldiers appear in numbers, thus accompanied, they need not be alarmed.*

At the meeting of the 17th, the question was put upon moving the corporation for permission to re-erect their flag staff upon the former place, or upon some other suitable spot. This was opposed by Mr. Lamb, and some others, as conceding that the corporation had a right to refuse such permission. But this view of the subject was overruled by a majority, and a Committee was appointed to petition the corporation in that respect. The memorial, dated on the 30th January, set forth the patriotic occasion on which the first flag staff had been erected; the legitimate objects for which it had been used; the wanton aggressions of the military upon the rights of the people, in destroying the emblem erected to constitutional liberty; and called upon the corporation to grant them leave to reinstate the one which had been recently overthrown. Their request was rejected. Meanwhile the minority was resolved to act independently of the corporation, and purchased a piece of ground near the site of the pole which had been destroyed, and while the subject was yet depending before the board, a meeting was convened by them, acting as a Committee of the Sons of Liberty,* at which it was determined to erect their liberty pole, despite the municipal authorities. This was done with great unanimity, and a mast, strongly guarded with iron bands and bars, and sunk deep in the earth, so as to defy all further attempts to prostrate it, was raised with due form, and appropriate ceremonies. It was inscribed LIBERTY AND PROPERTY, and surmounted with a top mast, upon which was a large vane, with similar inscription.

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* Holt's paper

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* Feb. 3, 1770. Committee of the Sons of Liberty notify a meeting at Crommeline's wharf, to erect a pole on ground belonging to them.—*Handbills Historical Soc. Library.*

CHAPTER V.

Parker examined.—McDougall arrested.—Confinement.—Case assimilated to Wilkes's.—House purchased by Sons of Liberty.—Hampden Hall.—Repeal Celebration.—Citizens salute McDougall in Jail.—Soldiers attempt Liberty Pole.—Assault Hampden Hall.—Repulsed.—Dispersed.—McDougall gives Bail.—Is released.—Non-importation League declines.—Repeal of the Duties except on Tea.—Efforts of Sons of Liberty to sustain the League.—General Committee recommend Abrogation.—Denounced at Faneuil Hall.—Hampden Hall Protest.—Importation of every thing except Tea.—Lord Dunmore Governor.—McDougall arrested on Speaker's Warrant.—Committed for Contempt.—Habeas Corpus.—House demur.—Outrage of the Soldiers.—Tryon succeeds Lord Dunmore.—Pitt's Statue mutilated.—Efforts to induce importation of Tea.—Kelly burnt in Effigy.—1770 to 1773.

The dismissal of Mr. Lamb, was followed by a star chamber process, in order to discover the author of the alledged libel upon the Assembly, This paper had been published at the office of James Parker, the printer of a newspaper in the city; and at the same time, comptroller and secretary of the post office. A journeyman in his employ, corrupted by the reward offered by the Assembly, made some disclosures, which, on the 7th of February, procured the arrest of Parker,* who was taken to the Fort and examined by the Governor and Council. Failing to procure the necessary information, while he was still in confinement, all the apprentices in his office were brought before the Council; and the fact was elicited, that the paper had issued thence; but the informants were ignorant of the author. Parker was again examined, and threatened with dismissal from his employment in the post office, unless he disclosed the name of the author; and at the same time, promised indemnity for the past, upon his compliance. He made certain avowals, upon which a bench warrant was caused to be issued against Alexander McDougall, who was arrested next day and carried before the chief justice; and refusing to give bail, he was committed to prison.

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* Holt's paper.

The case of McDougall bore some analogy to that of Wilkes, who was about that time every where toasted, as the great apostle and martyr of Liberty; and McDougall's friends were solicitous to assimilate their champion's fate, as nearly to his as possible.* The number of the North Briton, which had called down the vengeance of the government upon the transatlantic patriot, was forty-five. The number forty-five, became the watchword and countersign of the popular party. They crowded to the jail, and demanded admission to their friend; and upon being asked their names, the answer was universal, We are forty-five.† So constant and so numerous were these visitors, which were of both sexes, that the imprisoned patriot was obliged to publish a card,‡ announcing the hours, from three to six in the afternoon, as those on which he would receive their condolence. The boldness which Mc Dougall had displayed during the latter part of the year 1769, and the constancy with which he endured his confinement, were fortunate in restoring him to the communion of his party, from which he had been at one time somewhat excluded. He had not been among the most active in the times of the Stamp Act; and a lukewarmness, displayed upon a former occasion, had shaken the confidence of some of his friends, among whom were Lamb and Sears, in his firmness and devotion. But the manly resolution with which he braved the power of the Crown, effectually redeemed him from suspicion, and gave a new impulse to his popularity.

Montangnie, who had taken Bardin's establishment, the Tammany Hall of that time, had suffered his house to become the resort of many who had been zealous enough in the times of the Stamp Act, but who now leaned to the Governor's party, and had permitted his rooms to be engaged by them for the approaching repeal celebration, to the exclusion of the Committee and their friends of more orthodox principles. The excluded patriots, now purchased a house at the corner of Broadway and the Bowery road,* which they christened Hampden Hall, and which was occupied by Henry Bicker. At this house, on the 19th March, they called their meeting for the celebration of the day. The call was answered by the assembling of a numerous body of the citizens, who had been active in the proceedings of the 16th December. Forty-five toasts were drank. The following are part of the toasts:

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* Holt's paper.

† Idem.

‡ Idem.

15th. The Liberty of the Press.

16th. John Wilkes, for his noble struggles in the cause of Liberty.

17th. Capt. Alexander McDougall, who has nobly stood forth in its defence.

And after dinner the company formed in procession, and proceeded to the jail, where McDougall was confined; saluted him with *forty-five* cheers; and then marching through the city and back to the Liberty Pole, they quietly dispersed.

A part of the troops stationed in the barracks were ordered for embarkation, and they resolved to signalize their departure by another attack on the Liberty Pole, and even swore they would carry with them a part of it, as a trophy of their victory.† On the 29th March, fifteen of these, in the dead of the night, marched to the spot, and finding the lower mast too strongly fortified, they attempted to unship the topmast. In this they were discovered by a few of the citizens who were accidentally passing the common. The soldiers, alarmed, retreated to the baracks. The citizens who had remained‡ were joined by fifteen or twenty others; and as they surrounded the pole, the soldiers who had received a reinforcement, now, with forty of their number, returned and attacked them with drawn weapons. Most of the citizens retreated to Bicker's; and some others of the military from the barracks coming up, they surrounded the house and attempted to force the door. Bicker defended the entrance with fixed bayonet,* and kept the assailants at bay. The furious soldiers not only threatened destruction to the pole and all its defenders, but even swore they would burn the house, which was so vigorously defended. Some of those who had been driven from the pole, sounded the alarm bell at St. George's Chapel in Beekman street; and as the citizens began to assemble, an officer arriving, ordered the soldiers to quarters. A strict watch was kept at the pole all night, and every night afterwards, until the 3d May, when the troops sailed for the place of their destination.

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* Supplement Holt's Journal, 1418.

† Holt's paper. ‡ Idem.

In the April term of the court, the grand jury found a bill against McDougall for the alleged libel, who pleaded not guilty. During this investigation, Messrs. Delancy, Walton and Des Noyelles, members of the Assembly, sat upon the bench with the judges. McDougall now consented to give bail on a personal bond of five hundred pounds, and with two sureties, each of two hundred and fifty pounds, and was set at liberty.†

The efforts of the Committee to keep unbroken the non-importation agreement, were unceasing; and their vigilance in detecting and exposing infractions, and in enforcing practical admonitions to the aiders and abettors of any violations, undoubtedly had great influence every where. As a specimen of that vigilance and industry, the following letter is introduced:

New York, 11th May, 1770.

Bretheren:

We take this opportunity to acquaint you, that having received information, that a certain Nathan Rogers, of the town of Boston, Merchant, (one of those who have for some time past, been advertised by the Committee of Merchants there, as a person who had endeavored to counteract the laudable and patriotic resolutions of his bretheren, by his persisting to import British goods contrary to their agreement), was in town; and suspecting that his design in visiting our city, was to poison the minds of the merchants here, and influence them, if possible, to break the non-importation agreement; we therefore thought it absolutely necessary, to make an example of such a miscreant, and accordingly exhibited him last night in effigy, suspended on a gallows attended by 4 or 5,000 spectators, who called at his lodgings, in order to have him personally introduced to them. But in this they were disappointed, as he dined out of town.

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* Holt's paper.

† Handbills Historical Society.

The cavalcade then proceeded through the principal streets of the city to the common, where the effigy and the gallows were burnt amidst the acclamations of the people. The enclosed is a copy of the letter, which was left at his lodgings, and forwarded to him, as he did not return to town, but ordered his carriage out at 2 o'clock this morning, and immediately decamped for Boston. He intended visiting your city in a few days, and doubtless will yet do it, if our conduct towards him has not disconcerted his plan. He is a man about 5 feet 8 inches high, pretty corpulent, round shouldered, stoops a good deal, and generally appears in green and gold, or purple and gold. We thought it necessary to give you this information, that you may give him a proper reception, in case he should come your way. As we understand your merchants and inhabitants are to have a meeting on the 15th instant, in order to consider what steps may be necessary for them to take in the present conjuncture, we take the liberty to assure you, that a very great majority of the merchants and inhabitants of this city, are positively determined that the non-importation agreement shall not be broke through here, (while the other Colonies adhere to it), 'til a total repeal of the acts imposing duties upon paper, painters' colors, glass, and tea, takes place. The eyes of not only us, but the whole continent are upon you. As we are well assured that the merchants of Boston will strictly adhere to the agreement, as they are now reshipping the goods which lately arrived; it therefore greatly depends upon your conduct, whether the people of America shall remain free, or become the most vile and abject slaves.

We must request that you will credit no accounts relative to the conduct of our merchants, until you receive it from the

Committee of Merchants here, as the enemies of America, are industriously propagating reports which are calculated to divide us, and thereby render us an easy prey.
To the Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia.*

While, as this letter evinces, the spirit of the patriots was unbroken, and relying upon the coöperation of the general Committee of One Hundred, which had some time before been appointed, they were resolved to adhere to the last, a serious defection, of which they were not aware, had taken place in that committee, which gave a death blow to the non-importation league. The efforts of the Ministerialists to weaken this great bond of the Union, had been unceasing, and the governmental appliances had been but too successful.

Rhode Island had relaxed, and a meeting of the citizens was called to express their disapprobation; and also to take order, relative to some merchandise which had been brought into the city the day before. The proceedings of that meeting are copied from the original among the papers of the Committee of Vigilance:

"Whereas the enemies of the Liberties of America in Great Britain, have declared, in order to support their tyranny, that the laudable agreement entered into by the merchants of North America, not to import goods, until the act of Parliament imposing a duty on paper, glass, painters' colors, and tea, was repealed, was broke through and at an end: and whereas the merchants of Newport in the colony of Rhode Island, although they acceded to the above compact very late; by which they have greatly advanced their private interests, and injured the cause of liberty, in which they in common with the other colonies are interested; have notwithstanding these considerations, being lost to all sense of public virtue, and influenced by a sordid regard to private gain, lately received English and East India goods contrary to their own voluntary and solemn contract; and thereby violated their faith pledged to the other colonies; so that they have given too much ground for our enemies to triumph; and to discourage the noble struggles now making to preserve the liberties of this country: in order therefore to prevent the former, and support the latter, and if possible to bring them to a sense of their duty;

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*Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

Resolved, That the merchants of New Port, or any others, who have violated the non-importation agreement, are for that inglorious defection from the interests of their country, declared enemies to the liberties of North America; and that unless they return to their duty, we will treat them as such.

Resolved, That we will have no trade or commerce with the merchants of the colony of Rhode Island, or any of its inhabitants, but on condition that the merchants of that colony, solemnly declare on oath, that they will strictly observe and maintain the non-importation agreement, and use their best endeavors to oblige others to conform to it, while the same is adhered to by the capital towns on the continent; and as an evidence of their sincerity, immediately reship all the goods unsold to Great Britain, which they have imported contrary to their agreement; and send to us two reputable merchants, who have been witnesses of the other merchants; being qualified as above required; and of the departure of the said goods: and also, that they give strict orders to the masters of their vessels trading to Great Britain, not to take any goods on board, not allowed by the agreement, for any person or persons whatsoever. And if any goods should arrive in their vessels contrary to the non-importation agreement, that they cause them to be reshipped to Great Britain, or to whatever place they were imported from.

Resolved, That if the merchants of the said colony do not, in one month after the date hereof, comply with the requisitions in the preceding resolution, although the act of Parliament imposing the aforesaid duties should be totally repealed: yet we will hold the merchants and inhabitants of that colony in the utmost contempt and abhorrence; in order to transmit to our posterity the strongest evidence of our detestation of the base conduct of the enemies of their country.

Resolved, That we will use our endeavors with the merchants and inhabitants of the neighboring colonies, to come into resolutions similar to these.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of the inhabitants now met, that the vessels trading from Rhode Island now in port, do depart in twenty-four hours from the dissolution of this convention; and that the masters of such vessels as have lately arrived from that colony, be desired to depart without unloading any part of their cargoes.

Resolved, That we will, to the utmost of our power, by all legal means, preserve the non-importation agreement inviolate in this city and colony, until the act aforesaid is totally repealed; and that we will not buy any goods from any person or persons, who shall transgress that salutary agreement; and that we will use our utmost influence to prevent others from purchasing goods from them.

Resolved, That the goods imported yesterday, in Captain Spears, from Glasgow, contrary to the non-importation agreement, shall not be landed in any port of this colony, under any pretences whatever: but that the same shall be exported, without delay, to Great Britain; and that Messrs. Walter and Thomas Buchanan, and the said captain, in order to satisfy the public, declare without loss of time that they will use their utmost endeavors that this resolution be punctually complied with.

New-York, May 30, 1770.*

To these resolves, the citizens assembled gave their hearty concurrence; but to the surprise of the Committee of Vigilance, the Committee of One Hundred disavowed their manifesto; upon which, on the 7th of June, Isaac Sears and Peter Vandervoot withdrew from the General Committee. The pertinacious Committee of Vigilance denounced, in no moderate terms, their timid and faultering compeers; and determined stoutly to resist the relaxing influences in operation against them. Some goods had been brought into the city from the eastward, and were secretly vended in defiance of the league; and the patriots called upon the General Committee to enforce the penalty of the covenant. They accordingly seized the prohibited merchandise, and lodged it in store. But it was discovered by the Committee of Vigilance, that some prominent members of the One Hundred, were industriously sapping the league, by circulating a paper and obtaining subscriptions among the citizens, recommending the abrogation of the compact, and the resumption of imports, with the exception of tea; and apprehending that the offending commodities might be taken away or released, the more determined of the patriots forcibly took them into possession, and committed them to the flames: for which they received the public rebuke of the Committee of One Hundred.*

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* Lamb's papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

While the board at New York were declining in the observance of the saluary agreement, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and New Jersey remonstrated against the infraction of the Union. The Bostonians, on the 24th, declared that so long as there was a shadow of a duty on tea, the repeal as to other articles ought not to dissolve the non-importation compact. The devoted Sons of Liberty in New York reechoed these sentiments, and the adjacent colonies joined in the exhortations to adherence. The patriots in New York demanded that a new General Committee should be chosen in the city; but disaffection had gained ground. The subscription for the renewal of importations had become a formidable list; and the patriotism of the people was manifestly yielding. Philadelphia, in derision of this weakness, advised that the "Old Liberty Pole of New York should be transferred to that city, as it no longer formed a rallying point for the votaries of Freedom at home."

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* Holt's paper.

Neither the sentiments of patriotism, or the dread of denunciatiom and ridicule, could keep the Committee of One Hundred to their duty.* They, on the 9th July, resolved to import, and the 24th, sent a circular letter, justifying in the best terms they could, their defection, and announced their resolution to abrogate the league, in everything but the importation of tea.† Two days afterwards, Hampden Hall, and its patriotic supporters, the true Sons of Liberty, received this annunciation with an emphatic and indignant protest.‡ The missive was received at Faneuil Hall with some doubts of its authenticity. It could hardly be believed possible that it had received the sanction of New York. The paper was declared infamous, torn in pieces, and scattered to the winds, in indignation. But when another letter, complaining of the indignity put upon their manifesto, and attempting farther to justify their proceedings arrived, the clamor of the Bostonians was vociferous. Connecticut responded to the cry, and Har. Gansevoort, Volkert P. Douw, Harm's Wendell, Guysbert Fonda, and Barent Ten Eyck, patriotic merchants of Albany, in a letter to the Committee of Vigilance, denounced the renunciation as pusillanimous and detestable.§

Mr. Lamb, who had continued of the Committee of the Sons of Liberty, upon its revival upon the excitements against the Mutiny Act, and the imposts, joined loudest in the cry of his compatriots at the inglorious abandonment, and the Committee were determined on renewed vigilance, to defeat the purposes of the Ministerial party, resolving to coöperate with their brethren abroad, in measures most conducive to that intent. On the 12th September, Boston proposed a conference, to which Connecticut and New Jersey consented; but the arguments of the rescinding Committee of New York, had found more favor in Philadelphia, than at the eastward, or in the intermediate Colony.* That city no longer laid claim to the Liberty Pole, and yielded their consent to a dissolution of the compact.† For a while, Boston resisted the mischievous compliance, and were sustained by the minority in New York. They even, on the 20th, ordered some goods that had arrived to be reshipped, but at length, on the 11th October, they came into the general resolution of resuming the importation of everything except tea.‡

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* July 9, 1770, Resolved to import. Signed, Isaac Low, Chairman.—*Handbills His. Soc.*

† Holt's papers. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

Another victory had been won by the Crown, but yet the patriotic minority in New York, stood to their arms.§ The men of Hampden Hall, even ventured a rebuke to those of Faneuil, for not holding out longer, and the sentinels of both Citadels of Freedom, discomfited, but not dismayed, resolved to "bide their time," and to sink into the inaction to which the force of circumstances had compelled them.

The leaden statue of the King, ordered by the Assembly of 1766, had arrived, and on the 21st August, 1770, had been erected in the Bowling Green. The one voted to Mr. Pitt was to have been of brass; but was afterwards directed to be made of marble. This was in the ensuing month placed in Wall street, at the corner of Smith, now William street.‖ The 25th October, the new Governor, Lord Dunmore, made his appearance, and was addressed, and congratulated by the civil and religious corporations of the city. His Excellency was the bearer of the King's gracious assent to the bill for the emission of bills of credit, and brought the news of the aggressions of Spain upon the British settlements at Falkland Islands; and he intimated, that his Majesty relied upon the loyalty of his Colonies in America, in the war which was expected to follow, and the 11th December, reminded them that supplies for the troops would be necessary, and doubts not of prompt appropriations.

Nothing could exceed the complaisance of the Assembly to the message of the Governor, and as if they could not more effectually display their own submission, and loyalty to the

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* Holt's papers. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

King, than by punishing one who had shown a disposition to evade the duty of passive obedience and non-resistance; on the 13th, they ordered Capt. Alexander McDougall, who was under indictment for a libel against them, to appear at the bar, upon a warrant of the Speaker of the House.* That gentlemen was brought up on the 20th, and charged as the author of the libel upon the Assembly, circulated in 1769. McDougall informed the House, that he had been arrested in consequence of a resolve, and an offer of a reward by the Assembly; that he had been held to bail in the courts of justice; and that the trial of the indictment under which he now labored, had been vexatiously and unnecessarily delayed, and asked who were his accusers.† He was interrupted by the same loyal member, at whose instance Mr. Lamb had been arrested the year before, and required to give a categorical answer, if, or not, he was the author of the paper. The prisoner then endeavored to explain why he ought not to be called upon to give such answer, when he was again interrupted, and forbidden to proceed. The Speaker ordered him to be silent, and threatened to commit him for contempt, if he continued.‡

George Clinton§ now interposed in his behalf, and suggested that he ought, always with proper respect for the House, to be permitted to explain his reasons; and finally, the Speaker consented to hear them. McDougall then said, that no notice having been given him of the proceeding against him, he had not been able to procure counsel; that the charge was too indefinite: and that the House, having voted the paper a libel, he could not deny or affirm, whether, or not, he had been the writer. The paper was now read, and he was again called upon to answer, as before. McDougall again said, that under the declaration of the House that the paper was a libel, and the offer of a reward of one hundred pounds by them for the discovery of the author, a prosecution at law had been commenced against him: that the Legislature were virtually complainants in the case, and parties to the prosecution in the courts of law. And that it being now pending in those courts, he thought the House could not properly have cognizance of the case; and doubted if any parliamentary precedents could justify the present proceeding: again waiving to answer the question. The same member once more imperatively ordered him to answer, affirming that the House had power to extort it; and threatened the infliction of the *peine forte et dure.* Mr. Clinton* again interposed, and admitted the power of the House to be great: they might throw the prisoner over the bar, or out of the window: but the public would judge, and doubt the justice of the proceedings. He then moved an inquiry, whether the order of the House, and the offer of the reward, had been the foundation of the suit in the Court of Justice: and if the House was, indeed, the party in that suit.† McDougall, apprehending that his answer had not been fully understood by the House, requested permission to reduce it to writing.

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* Two terms of the Court had elapsed since the bill against McDougall had been found, and no prosecution of the suit against him had taken place.—*Handbills His. Soc. Library.*

† Assembly Journals, Handbills New York Historical Society, McDougall's manifesto dated New Jail, "22 Nov," must be 22d December.

‡ McDougall's manifesto. § Holt's paper.

This being done, the Speaker declared that it reflected upon the dignity of the House; and if not withdrawn, it would be punished as a contempt. Mr. Clinton here said,‡ that no man would do more to sustain the dignity of the House than himself, but that he thought that the *true dignity* of the Assembly would be better suported by justice, than by any overstrained authority. The majority persisted, and called upon McDougall to ask pardon of the House, and upon his refusal to do so, he was committed to jail.§ A writ of habeas corpus was sued out of the Court of Justice, and the sheriff appeared before the House, and gave notice of the issue. The House ordered that the judges be informed, that the prisoner had been committed under a warrant from them, and instructed the sheriff to detain him. A committee was appointed, 22d January 1771, to search the records of the House of Commons for precedents of similar cases. The Committee reported that they had found such precedents; and the subject was debated on the 15th February, whether the sheriff should be indemnified for resisting the authority of the Court. McDougall was detained for some time after this, and the records of the Assembly contain no other proceedings respecting him. It is probable that they yielded obedience to the writ of habeas corpus: and Parker, the main witness for the prosecution being dead, most likely the indictment was never tried; for McDougall was at large, and active on several important occasions during the subsequent strugglas.

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* Journals of the Assembly.

† McDougall's Manifesto.

‡ Holt's paper.

§ The patriots who voted against this motion, were Gale, Van Cortlandt, Woodhull, Capt. Seaman, and Clinton. Schuyler was not present.

Little happened to disturb the public tranquility, after the last fruitless attempt upon the Liberty Pole. But the soldiers were prompt upon every occasion, to display the triumph of the government over the people, and the latter, perhaps, not backward to take fire at their insults. A party of officers,* on the 11th of June, dining in the upper rooms of the Exchange, had placed sentinels on the piazza, to guard against encroachments. It is alleged that some stones had been thrown by the multitude, upon the party thus stationed. Without knowing what offence had been given, two gentlemen from Long Island went into the piazza, and were immediately assaulted by the sentinels with drawn bayonets, severely wounded, and taken to the guard house. Here they were held in confinement, until a sum of money was extorted from them. Upon a complaint being made to the officers, a pretended inquiry was had, and the testimony of the complainants was borne down by the denial of the parties charged. They were dismissed without redress; but the next day, the money which they had been compelled to pay, was returned to them.*

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* Holt's paper.

On the 8th July, it was announced that Lord Dunmore, having been appointed Governor of Virginia, Mr. Tryon was transferred from North Carolina to New-York, in his stead. Perhaps the vigilance which he had displayed, in quieting the disturbances in his former government, was a motive to the transfer; and that the Ministry, anticipating farther occasion for the exercise of a vigorous administration, considered his capacities in that respect of some importance.† The retiring Governor was complimented on his departure, and his successor was received with the same congratulations, which are usual on such occasions.‡ The Governor renewed to the Assembly§ the apprehension of a rupture with Spain, in consequence of the seizure of Port Egmont by the Spaniards in the South Sea, and received from the House the same complaisance and assurances which they had given to his predecessor.

In the ensuing spring (1772), a complaint was hatched up against Sears, who had been inspector of pot ashes, of malversation in office; and though the charge was sufficiently rebutted, the refutation did not avail to save him from dismission. Sears, who had been so conspicuous in the transactions growing out of the meeting of 19th December, 1769, and the imprisonment of McDougall, was displaced; and Montangnie, whose house had been adopted as the resort of the government party, appointed in his stead.

The ardency of the repeal celebrations was beginning to decline; and if any were held, the toasts and ceremonies of the occasion do not appear to have been published. The people seemed to have acquired a more correct estimate of the quantum of gratitude due to Lord Chatham for his services to America; and many were disposed to think him a better friend to the King and to himself, than to the votaries of liberty in either hemisphere; for some of them, on the

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* Holt's paper. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Assembly Journals.

21st May, committed slight mutilations of the statue, erected to his honor in 1770.*

The imposition of the duty on tea had been particularly insisted upon by the Minister, notwithstanding the East India Company had offered to pay double the amount of the revenue, to be derived from this impost in America, provided the Parliament would repeal it. The refusal to abolish this tax, was an illustration of the principle which the adherents of the Crown had established, and resolved to maintain: and it claimed from the Colonies, a resolution as fixed and as inflexible, as that of the Minister. They still continued to reject the tea, and to preserve, as far as possible, the league of non-importation of that commodity. To weaken this, and to force a farther consumption, for the benefit of the East India Company, the Parliament granted a drawback upon the exportation to the Colonies, to the full amount of the duty imposed in England; hoping that the decreased price of the commodity to the Colonial consumers, which this would enable the Company to afford, and which was four times the amount of the impost, would induce them to abandon the league. But the patriots were not to be caught by this new device; and they resolved to maintain their principles and covenant unimpaired. As soon as it was known that this new act had passed, and that vessels with large shipments had been ordered for America, the Colonists resolved to exclude their cargoes from entry.†

On the 20th October, 1773, they declared Tea Commissioners, and Stamp Distributors, alike obnoxious, and passed votes of thanks to the masters of vessels, who had refused their ships to the use of the East India Company. They so emphatically denounced its importation, that some of the commission merchants at home, refused to have any thing to do with the shipment,‡ declaring that they would not insure against its destruction, for twenty-five per cent premium. A certain Mr. Kelly, former resident of the city, then in London, and

* Holt's paper. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

canvassing some one of the Ministerial Boroughs for an election to Parliament; ridiculed these apprehensions, and declared, that if animosities should rise as high as during the times of the Stamp Act, the tea might safely be shipped, and securely landed. That then, the Colony had an old man to deal with; but now, they would have to contend with a vigorous military Governor; one who had shown his energy in putting down insurrectionary movements in North Carolina. The Committe of Vigilance took due note of these offensive declarations, and on the 5th November called a meeting at the Coffee House.* The people assembled, denounced Kelly, and burnt his effigy; and after the representative was consumed, a gentleman observed, that it was matter of regret, that the principal could not be dealt with in the same summary and exemplary manner.†

The three Tea Commissioners appointed for New York, cautioned by these indications, on the 10th, declined their appointment;‡ and it was given out that the tea, when landed, would be taken to the public stores, until a convenient time should arrive to reship it to England. It was known that the ships had sailed on the 26th October, but by stress of weather, they were compelled to put back, and were only waiting a favorable wind to resume their voyage.

On the 25th, the Mohawks § were notified to be in readiness on the arrival of the ships, and called upon to be on the alert for any sudden emergency. On the 29th November, the Sons of Liberty formally reorganized themselves and passed the following resolves:

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* Holt's paper. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

§ This is the first time that this designation is used in the proceedings of the Committee, and this notice affords the strongest evidence of the united action of the Bostonians, with their compatriots of New York; between whom, constant communication was kept up. That the destiny of the tea in both places, and the mode of its destruction was resolved upon, is certain; and it is entirely owing to the arrival of the condemned article in Boston, having preceded that shipped for New York, that the *Mohawks* of the former place, were first called into action.

Resolved, That whoever shall aid or abet, or in any manner assist in the introduction of tea from any place whatsoever into this Colony, while it is subject, by a British act of Parliament, to the payment of a duty for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, he shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.

Resolved, That whoever shall be aiding or assisting in the landing or carting of such tea from any ship, or vessel, or shall hire any house, storehouse, or cellar, or any place whatsoever to deposit the tea, subject to such duty, as aforesaid, he shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.

Resolved, That whoever shall sell or buy, or in any manner contribute to the sale or purchase of tea, subject to duty as aforesaid, or shall aid or abet in transporting such tea, by land or water, from this city until the 7th Geo. III. Chap. 46, commonly called the revenue act, shall be totally and clearly repealed, he shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.

Resolved, That whether the duties on tea, imposed by this act, be paid in Great Britain or in America, our liberties are equally affected.

Resolved, That whoever shall transgress any of these resolutions, we will not deal with or employ, or have any connection with him.*

The owners and occupants of all stores, were forbidden to harbor the tea; and all infractors of this prohibition, were threatened as enemies of the liberty of their country. The patriots of both sexes, were solemnly adjured to abstain from the use of the prohibited commodity; as every cup of tea consumed, might be the cause of shedding oceans of blood, in the contest which would ensue, if receiving too much encouragement from its use, the Ministers should resolve to force its reception.† And all were exhorted to imitate South Carolina, who had resolved on its rejection, and refused it entrance.

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* Handbills N. Y. His. Soc. Library.

† Holt's paper.

CHAPTER VI.

Vigilance of the Sons of Liberty.—Boston Tea Ships arrive.—That for New-York expected.—Tryon resolves to force the Landing.—Determination to exclude it.—Meeting of the Citizens.—Committee of Fifteen.—Tea Destroyed at Boston.—New-York Tea Ship blown off the Coast.—Arrives and taken Possession of by the Committee.—Ship London arrives.—Searched — Tea found and Destroyed.—Committee send back the Tea Ship without unloading,—Stringent Measures against Boston.—Committee of Fifty-One against reviving Non-importation League.—Overruled.—General Congress.—Boards and Straw for the Barracks at Boston stopped.—Sons of Liberty propose to arm and equip themselves.—Provincial Congress.—Rum seized and sent to Concord. —Custom House closed.—General Armament of the Whigs.

The Sons of Liberty, under their new organization, were not negligent of their duty on any emergency. News had reached them, on the 15th December, that the Boston tea ships had arrived, and that the New-York shipments were expected soon to follow. At the same time, intelligence was received of the signal punishment inflicted upon an obnoxious officer of the customs at Boston. This was hailed with hearty acclamation and concurrence by the citizens; and with a firm determination to imitate their intrepid eastern brethren. Much speculation was indulged, respecting the measures which the Governor would adopt upon the arrival of the tea. The officers of the Crown, and their adherents, were firm in their belief that the Governor ought and would compel it to be landed. On one occasion this matter was the subject of discussion; and a British officer, hearing some disbelief of the landing expressed, replied that there need be no farther doubt of the Governor's intentions, for he had heard him that morning declare, that the tea should be landed, even if it was to be sprinkled with blood. Mr. Lamb, who was present, asked if such were really the Governor's declarations; and upon the officer again making the assertion, and vouching for the fulfilment of the threat—Then, sir, was the rejoinder of Lamb, tell him from me, that the tea shall not be landed; and if force is attempted to effect it, his blood will be the first shed in the contest; the people of the city are firmly resolved on that head.*

On the 16th December, the Sons of Liberty were convened at the City Hall; and on the next day, the notice inviting all the friends of liberty and property to join them; a very large concourse of people accordingly assembled, and were addressed by Mr. Lamb.† He stated the object of the call, explained the views and intentions of the government, the glorious resistance already begun in Boston, and read letters from the patriots at that place and of Philadelphia; which indicated the attitude which they were resolved to assume and maintain; and called upon every true lover of liberty to emulate their devotion. A Committee of Fifteen, of which he was one, were chosen to reply to these letters; and resolves were proposed, pledging the support of New York to their brethren abroad, and expressive of a firm determination to resist to the uttermost.

At this meeting, the public were notified, that the East India Company, not having been able to induce the colonial shipmasters to take on board the tea, had chartered other vessels: that part of them had arrived, and the one destined for New York, might be hourly expected. Resolves, denouncing as enemies of the country, all who should give countenance to the introduction of the repudiated commodity, were unanimously adopted.‡ The Mayor, and the Recorder, had by this time joined the meeting. They brought assurances from Gov. Tryon, that when the tea arrived, it should be publicly brought into the Fort, and kept there, until the Council should give advice, or that the King, or the proprietors gave orders for its issue; and then, it should be sent out, as publicly as it was received. This artifice was not successful.

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* Family tradition.

† Handbills Historical Society Library.

‡ Handbills Historical Society.

Mr. Lamb pointed out to the meeting the danger of compliance with the Governor's scheme; he read the act of Parliament, which prescribed the payment of the duties, on being landed, and reminded the people, that the landing in any shape, would be an infraction of their resolves, and pregnant of danger in every respect. He then put *the question,* " shall the tea be landed ?" and there was an emphatic and unanimous response of No ! three times repeated. The meeting then adjourned until the expected vessel should make her appearance. The day before this meeting, the people of Boston, by the destruction of the tea in their harbor, had consummated their pledge of resistance, and given full assurance to England, and the World, of their future intentions.

The news of the second rehearsal of the great drama of the Revolution, was received by the patriots of New York with stern delight, and all who had the sagacity to foresee, and courage to breast the inevitable storm, prepared to meet it with determined resolution. Gov. Tryon, being ordered home for a conference with the Ministry, in regard to the disputes of the New York patentees, with the claimants under the New Hampshire grants, and determining to sail for England, prorogued the Assembly until the 17th May, 1774.

A short time after the grand destruction at Boston, a small quantity of tea was discovered at the eastward,* and disposed of in the same manner, by the resolute band who had destroyed the first shipments. This transaction is alluded to in the following letter :

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*Perhaps part of that alluded to in the following notice:

A number of the Mohawks at Cape Cod, will take care of any tea that may escape the wreck of Capt. Loring's vessel.

> The making Boston Harbor into tea,
> And those who made, and those who helped to make it;
> The toasts of all Americans will be,
> Nor one true Briton, will refuse to take it.

—*Handbills N. Y. His. Soc. Library.*

Boston, 28th March, 1774.

"You have no doubt heard the particulars, relating to the last twenty-eight chests of tea; it was disposed of in the same manner, as I informed you of the other, and should five hundred more arrive, it will go in the same way. Yesterday, a vessel arrived here from Antigua, the Captain says your tea vessel was to sail three days after him, so by the next post, I expect to hear a good account of it.

Your humble servant,
Paul Revere.*

Mr. John Lamb.†

The ship Nancy, Capt. Lockyier, on board of which, the tea for New York was laden, had long been expected; and no intelligence being received from her, it was conjectured that she had met the fate of one of the four ordered to Boston, which had suffered shipwreck on the coast; but by an arrival from Antigua, it was ascertained that she had been blown off the coast, and compelled to bear away for that place. The masters of the American vessels there, had communicated to the Captain, the newspapers containing the proceedings of the Colonists, indicative of the fate which awaited him on his arrival; to which he wisely resolved to yield without a struggle, and to make no farther stay, than to afford sufficient time to enter protest, that he might discharge his duty to his owners. On the 7th April, Gov. Tryon embarked for England, devolving the Government upon Lieut. Gov. Colden.

It seemed as if the elements had espoused the cause of the Colonies, and declared war against the doomed tea vessel; for on her passage from Antigua, she again encountered a severe gale, which carried away her mizzen mast, and delayed her arrival. At length, on the 18th April, the Nancy, Capt. Lockyier, made her appearance.* The Committee of Vigilance had given instructions to the pilots to detain this vessel at the Hook; and having information from their correspondents at Philadelphia, that a Captain Chambers of the ship London, who had refused to receive any tea on a former voyage, and had been specially thanked for his patriotism by the citizens, had now on board eighteen chests of the contraband commodity; they gave similar instructions to detain that vessel also, in case of her arrival. On the arrival of the Nancy, a part of the Committee proceeded on board; and the captain being desirous of procuring the necessary supplies to enable him to refit his vessel, begged permission to come up to town for that purpose. This request was acceded to, and on his arrival at the wharf next day, he was met by the Committee and a large concourse of citizens.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† This supplemental destruction, is not mentioned in any history which has come under the writer's observation; and it is not even noted in the published transactions of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Yet there can be no doubt that the event took place, as the writer of the letter, was one of the most reliable of the eastern patriots, and undoubtedly concerned in the original transaction of 16th December. He was in 1774 and 5, the confidential messenger from the Committee of Boston to the General Congress, and to the Committee of New York, and subsequently a Lieut. Colonel of the Massachusetts troops.

The Committee gave strict orders that he should not approach the Custom House. They escorted him to the consignee of the vessel, who declined to have any thing to do with the cargo, and advised the captain to return with all dilligence. Every facility was granted in furnishing the supplies, and preparing the ship for sea: but the men were prevented from landing by their watchful conservators. The citizens were notified that they would be called to witness the departure of Captain Lockyier, at the appointed time; and were required to be in readiness to attend. The next day, the 20th, another vessel arrived, and the Committee being anxious to test the accuracy of the information received from Philadelphia, interrogated the commander, Capt. Lawrence, who gave the most unequivocal corroboration.† Two days after, the London, Captain Chambers, made her appearance.‡ The pilot, on boarding him, asked if he had any tea on board, which he strongly denied: she was brought into the Hook, and visited by two of the Committee. Chambers persisted in his denial; and they claimed a sight of his cockets and of his manifest; and in neither did they find evidence of the prohibited lading. The vessel was ordered to town, still under the charge of the Committee. The declaration had been so positive against the Captain, that the whole Committee proceeded to the ship, and reiterated the demand for the suspected article. He still persisted in his denial; but upon an order being given that the hatches should be opened; and being informed that every package would be overhauled, he confessed that he had eighteen chests on board: not of the East India Company's, but shipped on his own account.

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* Gaines's paper.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

The obnoxious lading was declared confiscated in due form; the people were made acquainted with the fact; and the Mohawks were ordered to be ready at the appointed hour. But the populace were impatient of delay; and crowding on board the vessel, resolved, themselves, to execute judgment. The Committee then stationed a proper guard below, to prevent waste; and when the offending packages were discovered, they were hoisted on deck, and emptied into the slip. The captain had wisely determined not to witness the destruction of his tea: and fortunately for him, was no where to be found. These ceremonies were finished by 11 o'clock in the evening:† and being enjoined to appear next day at the ringing of the bells, the citizens dispersed. At eight, the next day, the 23d, the promised notice was given; and an immense concourse assembled at, and about the Coffee House. The band was ordered to play God save the King; and Captain Lockyier was brought out under an escort of the Committee. The people now called out loudly for Captain Chambers, that he might be sent away in the Nancy, but he was not forthcoming for the occasion.‡ Captain Lock-

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* Gaines's paper. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

yier was placed on board a pilot boat, still under escort, who carried him on board his ship,* and saw him fairly under weigh and standing out to sea. During these proceedings, the ships in the harbor displayed their colors, and the flag was hoisted at the Liberty Pole under a royal salute of artillery.

For some days the people were anxious to discover what had become of Capt. Chambers, and a vigilant search was made for him: but it was satisfactorily ascertained, that he had taken passage to England with Captain Lockyier; and their solicitude declined.

It is traditional in the family of Mr. Lamb, that in these proceedings, and in those of an earlier date, of similar character, he bore a conspicuous part: and as he was not a man to give counsel to others, that he was not himself prepared to act upon; there can be but little doubt, that he was foremost in the execution of this act of political expediency, and summary justice. An etching on copper, describing the event, done by him and published at the time, is alluded to in a letter of the Committee of Philadelphia: a copy of which was long preserved in the family, but it can not now be found.

The Bostonians had, on the 13th May, in town meeting, passed resolves of non-importation from the Mother Country: and to render this measure more efficient, to discontinue trade to the West India Colonies of every nation. This took place on the day of the arrival of Governor Gage; and was announced to the Spartan Band in New York, by the following letter from a talented and active member of the Committee of Boston:

BOSTON, May 13, 1774.

Dear Sir: At length, the perfect crisis of American politics seems arrived; and a very few months must decide, whether we and our posterity shall be slaves or freemen. Calamitous as it seems, I do not regret that my lot is cast in this barrier of the suffering States. Our great man is this day landed at Castle William, where he is now in company with the celebrated Mr. Hutchinson, from whom, undoubtedly, he is taking his cue of government. The General's orders are said to be very large; and some give out that very bitter things are in contemplation against us; the execution or dispensation of which, will altogether depend on the part the other Colonies will take in the contest. Lord North endeavors to still the rising rage of his countrymen, by assuring them that no other Province will in the least, countenance the rebellious Bostonians; and in such case, he determines to make them sorely repent their refractory conduct towards government.

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* Gaines's paper.

We have had a very large and respectable meeting this day, at which were present the principal persons of all denominations; and many who have hitherto seemed very cool in the common cause, distinguished themselves in their zeal for its support. The infamous Act was read, and descanted upon, with a freedom and energy becoming the orators of ancient Rome; and no one hesitated to declare it, in every principle, repugnant to law, religion and common sense.

We have raised a very respectable committee to go to Salem and Marblehead, to settle matters with our brethren there, with whom, however, we are well persuaded there can be no possible difficulty. The sugar plums of the Minister will have very little effect on a people, who so thoroughly comprehend his designs. I presume New York will fall behind none of her sister Colonies, in the alacrity and extent of her operations. The question has been largely discussed here, whether the trade to the West Indies had better be discontinued or not; and it passed unanimously in the affirmative, for this reason. It was not only the British Islands which would be drove to clamor, but the French, Danes and Dutch, whose several Courts would immediately be influenced to remonstrate; and in case of being denied satisfaction, would address those passions of the Minister, which they never found untractable to their applications.

Another reason for recommending this voluntary sacrifice to the whole continent is to keep the whole people as much on a level as may be; that avaricious and inconsiderate individuals may not be tempted to be posting from one place to another, to the disturbance and discouragement of those honest men, who have resolved to stand their ground, and bear their part in relieving the distresses of the poor, and yielding their aid on all occasions to the suffering community.

The people of Great Britain, by this means, will soon be convinced of the good sense and firm resolution of the Colonies, and perceive the vanity of contending with a country whose very inaction must ruin them. There is a talk of quartering three regiments in town, of removing the seat of government to Salem, and putting the Province under military government. These mad projects will undoubtedly be essayed, if presumed at any rate practicable. You may justly consider this the last experiment of a detested usurpation; which, defeated by the united wisdom and virtue of the Colonists, will establish our rights, privileges and immunities, and give us importance in the other three quarters of the globe.

My worthy friend, Revere, again revisits you. No man of his rank and opportunities in life, deserves better of the community. Steady, vigorous, sensible and persevering. I have wondered we had no farther account of the Post Office Scheme* from you. Perhaps the breach of trust in Stimpson's Post Rider, has backened the affair. I should really be sorry it should fall through on that account. We would not be under the least difficulty in this Colony, as there would be no change in the persons employed. Give my most cordial respects to Messrs. Holt, Hughes,† and Mott, and believe me to be Sir, Your friend and brother in the
Cause of American Liberty,
Mr. JOHN LAMB. THOS. YOUNG.‡

The citizens of Philadelphia, enraged at the manner in which their distinguished townsman, Doct. Franklin, had been abused by Wedderburne, the Solicitor-General, upon his examination before the Council, hung and burnt him in effigy.* And a short time afterwards, their compatriots of New York, imitated their example; but they joined with him Lord North, the Minister, and Gov. Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, whom they considered equally worthy of reprobation. This outbreak was not approved by the Committee of Fifty, which was, a few days afterwards, chosen by the citizens.

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* The Post Office Scheme, alluded to in the above letter, was an attempt of William Goddard, publisher of the Maryland Journal, of Baltimore, to effect an independent mail establishment. He held some correspondence with Mr. Lamb upon the subject; and in consequence came to New York, and after securing the co-operation of Mr. Lamb and his coadjutors, and bearing letters from them, he went to the Eastward, where all of the principal towns met his project with favor.

This plan was so far matured that it went into partial operation, and on the 11th May, 1775, John Holt, the publisher of the New York Journal, acted as Post-Master for the city.

† Appendix A.

‡ Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

On the 14th May, 1774, a letter † had been written by the Committee of Vigilance to their compatriots of Boston, recommending to them the most vigorous measures, as the most effectual; and giving assurance that the attitude assumed by the Bostonians would be heartily sustained by their brethren in New York. The boldness of these pledges, and the recent display of the energy of the people, alarmed the Government party, and some of the more timid of the patriots; and a scheme was formed to trammel the people in such a manner as to restrain them in future emergencies.

On the 16th, a meeting of the citizens was called, in order to nominate a new Committee. It was proposed that it should consist of twenty-five members, but the majority determined to extend it to fifty. On this list were a great number of the royalists; and when submitted to the people, Francis Lewis, one of their party was added to it, and the whole approved by the majority. From this nomination Mr. Lamb was excluded, together with some other important leaders of the popular party; the cause of this exclusion may be found in the following extract of a letter from Governeur Morris to Mr. Penn, dated 20th May, 1774;‡ which will also illustrate the character and designs of the Committee, as well as those of the parties excluded.

"In short, there is no ruling them; and now to leave the metaphor, the heads of the mobility grow dangerous to the gentry; and how to keep them down is the question.

While they correspond with the other colonies; call and dismiss popular assemblies; make resolves to bind the consciences of the rest of mankind; bully poor printers, and exert with full force all their other tribunitial powers; it is impossible to curb them.

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* Handbills New York Historical Society.

† Lamb papers. ‡ American Archives.

But art sometimes goes farther than force, and therefore to trick them handsomely, a Committee of Patricians was to be nominated, and into their hands, was to be committed the majority of the people, and the highest trust was to be reposed in them by a mandate that they should take care *quod republica non capiat injuriam.* The Tribunes, through the want of good legerdemain in the senatorial order, perceived the finesse; and yesterday, I was present at a grand division of the city; and there I beheld my fellow citizens very accurately counting their chickens, not only before they were hatched, but before one half of the eggs were laid.* In short they fairly contended about the future forms of our government; whether it should be founded upon aristocratic or democratic principles."

By great exertions on the part of the loyalists, this Committee was elected, on the 23d, and immediately assumed their functions, by claiming exclusive authority. The first act was to declare, on the 26th, that the letter of the 14th, to the Bostonians, had not emanated from them, and to caution the people abroad and at home, that it was not to be deemed official. At the first meeting of the Committee of Fifty-One, the messenger from Boston to Philadelphia, Paul Revere, made his appearance, and delivered the official proceedings of the Boston town meeting, of the 13th May, urging concurrence on the part of New York. The Committee took the matter into consideration, as of very serious import, declined concurrence with the Boston resolves, and recommended a Congress of Delegates. The people of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New Jersey, acceded to the arrangement of the

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* Mr. Morris must have been soon afterwards convinced, that the eggs, which he supposed yet forthcoming, were at that moment in a forward state of incubation.

Bostonians, and also recommended a Congress, to assemble on the first of September, leaving New York, to stand alone in refusal to adopt stringent measures against the parent government. The election of the Committee, was considered a great point gained by the loyalists, and Lieut. Gov. Colden, expressed his conviction that the popular party was effectually routed. Rivington, the Royal Printer, wrote in great triumph to Henry Knox,* a bookseller in Boston, that the city was redeemed, and the party of the Crown, lords of the ascendant. The following letter from Doctor Young,† will exhibit the high hopes of the government, that the operations of the *Fifty-One*, would cut off New York, from the great bond of association.

Boston, 19th June, 1774.

My worthy correspondent :

Longing to learn how my bretheren fared, and to take their pledge, was I, when Mr. Edes handed me your most welcome favor of the 13th current. It was read in a very important, and agreeable company, consisting of Adams, Cushing, Quincy, Warren, and others, collected at the house of the latter, on their return from Salem. Our rejoicing was full, from an interchange of interesting advices from all quarters. Your intelligence was, however, esteemed as encouraging, as any we had from any part of the continent. Those worthy members of society, the tradesmen, we depend on, under God, to form the revolution of the other ranks of citizens, in Philadelphia and New York. They are certainly carrying all before them here. The yeomanry of our country towns are another effectual support. A covenant is handing about among them, and signing by thousands, not to purchase any British manufactures, imported from that Island, after the 31st of August next. This will insure a non-importation in this province, whether messieurs les marchands, will be graciously pleased to come into it or not; however, there seems no disposition at all, in the body of the trade here, to counteract the minds of their fellow countrymen.

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* Afterwards, Gen. Knox, Comm'r American Artillery, and first Sec'y of War, under the new constitution.

† An extract from this letter is printed in the first vol. American Archives, 429, 430.

The past, has been an important week with us. The tools of power, suspecting that things were not going to their mind, in the general court, endeavored to influence the city to come into some measures for the payment of the tea. They had cabal after cabal, and conceited that they had extended their influence so far, that in a meeting of the tradesmen, held last Wednesday, one of the most plausible of them ventured to recommend it to their consideration. Some smart things were said, pro and con, on the subject; but it clearly appeared the general sense, to submit to all extremities, before a shadow of concession was extorted from them; much less, proposed by them: to crown this agreeable prospect, on Friday came on the adjournment of the town meeting; at which the citizens attended in such numbers as filled the hall, inasmuch that many were forced to retire for want of room. Early in the meeting it was observed, that there had been much talk out of doors, as well as writing in the papers, concerning payment for the tea. It was there requested, that in case any gentleman had any thing to offer on the subject, he would speak freely; that a matter of so much importance, might be fairly discussed in the presence of the body of the people. But in vain were the Æschine called upon to expose propositions, fit only to be whispered in the conclave of our addressees, composed of a few men, who deserve better company, than the fry of Scotch pedlers, Sandemanians, and importers, to which they have unluckily joined themselves. Thus, administration, notwithstanding the terror of the fleets and armies already invading us, and hourly expected, have the mortification to find, that in neither the General Assembly of the Province, nor in the grand meeting of the Capitol, was a single symptom of inclination, to comply with their demands, tho' enforced by a distressing blockade.

I was yesterday informed that our Attorney-General, who is also Judge of Admiralty for Nova Scotia, and a grand instrument of the British Administration, was a few days back, at Salem, flattering the members, on whom he hoped to make any impression, to make even the least concession, respecting the payment for the tea. And it is said, the tories are now taking up a private subscription for that purpose. If they choose to do so silly a thing, we can not help it; but it will certainly be but a poor triumph for the Minister, if he may even be enabled to pretend, that a few of his own tools have lent their names to cover his defeat.

I am certainly informed, the soldiers desert in great numbers. Eighty have left the regiment at the Castle, and a schooner sent up into one of our rivers, has lost all her hands. Two soldiers went off from these new comers, and the officers are in a peck of troubles, how to proceed with them. They say, should they send privates after them, it would be sending the hatchet after the helve; and did they go themselves, they expect nothing but a rescue, should they come up with them.

Make my kind compliments to Messrs. Hughes, Mott, Sears, McDougall, Roman, and all the true Sons of Liberty with you. Mr. Rivington may be enquired of, whether he did not lately write a letter to a gentleman in this town, containing a paragraph of this import, " You may rest assured, no non im: nor non-exportation, will be agreed upon, either here or at Philadelphia. The power over our crowd, is no longer in the hands of *Sears, Lamb, and such unimportant persons, who have for six years past, been the demagogues of a very turbulent faction in this city;* but their power, and mischievous capacity, expired instantly upon the election of the Committee of Fifty-One; in which there is a majority of inflexibly honest, loyal, and prudent citizens."

I am with much esteem,
Your friend and fellow sufferer,
THOS. YOUNG.

MR. JOHN LAMB.*

As evidence of the prudence of many, who at the time, intended to hold on to the popular party, but who were unwilling to " define their position," the following letter is adduced:*

BOSTON, 7th July, 1774.

Kind Sir :

I have enclosed you a letter and pamphlet for Mr. Hughes, which I take it, will however, in some measure, be common property among you. The letter is left open for your perusal.

The paragraph taken from Rivington's letter, was done literatim by my own hand, and you may aver it to be genuine, if you please. Mr. J. Quincy also saw the letter, by Mr. Knox's permission, and can doubtless quote it from memory. If Rivington is charged, he will hardly deny it. I do not believe he laid Mr. Knox under any obligation of secrecy; however, as I had it not by direct leave from Mr. Knox, (being indeed, affraid to apply for an extract, and be refused), I would not wish to be drawn into question.

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* Lamb papers, His. Soc.

Treasonable letters, you know, are ticklish things. Mr. Quincy is absent on the circuit, and probably a suppression of the affair 'till he returns, and we can consult a further step, might be advantageous.

Freely and frequently write,
Your devoted serv't,
Thos. Young.

Mr. John Lamb.

The Committee of the Sons of Liberty were constantly on the watch, to detect infractions of the Massachusetts resolves, and the Chairman of a Committee of Merchants, directed an address to the Fifty-One, to know "whether those persons who style themselves a Committee, and have called upon several of our citizens to inquire into their private business, were authorized by you, and whether you approve of their conduct in doing so?"* Of course the Fifty-One replied in the negative, and denounced the Committee of Vigilance. They, on the other hand, had become satisfied of the intentions of the *Fifty-One*, to paralize the energies of the people, and they resolved to frustrate their designs. A meeting was called by handbills, and agreably to notice, a very large number, on the 19th June, convened in the fields.† The citizens were notified of the refusal of the Committee of Fifty-One to accede to the general union, and invited to some speedy action, to further the general good. The cruel situation of their brethren in Boston was placed before them, and they were exhorted to express a determination to imitate their devotion, and to sustain them in all emergencies. Resolves were passed to that effect, and also, that delegates be appointed to the proposed Congress, instructed to accede to a rigorous non-intercourse, in accordance with the Boston resolutions. The proceedings of this meeting were despatched to Boston.

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* Holt's paper.

† Lamb papers, and Handbills His. Soc.

The Committee of Fifty-one, now clearly manifested the purpose for which they were chosen. On the 7th July they denounced the meeting in the fields as unauthorized; and in violation of their exclusive right to call convocations of the people. They reprobated the proceedings of the meeting, as tending to cast odium upon them, and bring their authority into contempt. These denunciations were read next day in the Committee, of which thirty were assembled; twenty-one of whom agreed to adopt them, and nine dissenting: eight publicly withdrew their names from the Committee. These were Francis Lewis, Joseph Hallet, Alexander McDougall, Peter V. B. Livingston, Isaac Sears, Thomas Randall, Abm. P. Lott, and Leonard Lispenard,[†] and the day after, three patriotic members, John Broome, Abraham Brasher, and Jacob Van Zandt, who had not been present at the debates, but who disapproved of the proceedings of the majority, also requested that their names might be struck from the list of the Committee.

The Fifty-One now called a meeting. They had become alarmed at the apparent power of the minority; and they presented a very prudent manifesto,[†] and adopted resolves, evidently leaning against conformity to the non-intercourse association: and anew, proposed delegates to the Congress, to deliberate on the subject.[‡] The tameness of the resolves of the Committee, did not suit the temper of the Sons of Liberty; and Mr. Lamb published a handbill, pointing out their deficiencies, and proposing amendments:[§] deprecating every thing like concession on the part of the people, to the great stretch of regal authority already exhibited; and any admission, that the proceedings of the Ministry were founded in justice. This communication embodied the sentiments of a large part of the meeting; and they urged strenuously that the delegates to the Congress should be required to pledge themselves to sustain the Boston resolutions.

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[*] Lamb papers and handbills, His. Soc.

[†] Idem. [‡] Idem. [§] Idem.

At the meeting of the Committee, the popular party proposed to make a nomination of Delegates, and to refer it to the Committee of Mechanics for their approval. On the other hand, it was proposed to make the nomination* and submit it to the Freeholders and Freemen for concurrence. The last resolve prevailed; and Philip Livingston, John Alsop, Isaac Low, John Jay and James Duane, were nominated.

A Committee from the Mechanics, consisting of Abraham Brasher, Theophilus Anthony, Francis Van Dyck, Jeremiah Platt, and Christopher Duykink, addressed a card to the nominees, requesting to know whether they would support the Massachusetts resolves in the approaching Congress. To this requisition, they answered, that such a course would be in accordance with their individual opinions; but that the declaration was not made, with the view of securing the popular suffrage, but to express their sentiments upon a question of such importance.

The Committee reported the response to their constituents which was entirely satisfactory, and on the 27th July the Delegates were chosen by the unanimous voice of the city.

As the precursors of coming events, on the 8th September, rumors had reached Connecticut of the bombardment of Boston, and the massacre of the inhabitants. The magistrates of New Haven, transmitted the intelligence to New York, and much ferment existed during the prevalence of the report. While this alarm was at the utmost, thousands from the vicinity of Boston, crowded into the town, resolved to avenge their countrymen. And they would not believe the report groundless, until they had actually visited the place,† and had the evidence of their own senses. This sudden rising of the people, and the resolution which they exhibited, might have admonished the government party, of their future determination.

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* American Archives. Papers of the day.

† Idem.

The Congress, on assembling, passed resolves for an association for non-importation, and on the 17th November a committee of sixty was chosen, to superintend the execution of the articles; they were to hold their seats until the first of July ensuing. This committee held a conference with that of the Mechanics, who entered heartily into the measures recommended.

While these proceedings were in train, the patriotic party in the city were thrown into a violent commotion, by the seizure of ten cases and three boxes of arms, and a barrel of gunpowder, by the orders of the Collector.* As these munitions were on their way to the Custom House, on the 27th December, a small party rallied and took the powder into custody, but before they could secrete it, the King's officials, being reinforced, retook it, and deposited it in the powder-house; and the Collector, for their greater security, sent the arms on board a man of war, lying in the harbor.

On the same day, a letter to the Collector was thrown into the post-office, claiming that the arms were legally imported, and adding, " from you we shall demand these arms, whenever they are wanted, which, is probable will be soon;" continuing,

" Do not slight this admonition, or treat it as a vain menace, for we have most solemnly sworn to effect it sooner or later; and you know our nation is implacable. We would not have you to imagine that it is in the power of any set of men, either civil or military, to protect or shield you from our just revenge, which will be soon done, and in such a manner as not to be known 'til it is fatally experienced by you." From the

MOHAWKS and RIVER INDIANS.

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* These arms were imported in the ship Lady Gage, Thos. Mesnard, Comm'r, and were consigned to Walter Franklin. They were said to have been in Franklin's warehouse for several days; and were seized for the want of cockets.

The Collector disregarded this threat, and posted a copy of this letter at the Coffee House, where it was denounced; and the leading merchants justified the King's officer. That night, a printed handbill was thrown into almost every house in town. It was an exciting appeal to the patriots, urging them to resist an act so alarming. "What!" asks the writer, "What is become of your former magnanimity and spirit; ye who dared to degrade the Governor of the Province, and exhibit his effigy, under the very muzzles of his cannon? Are ye dwindled into such dastards and poltroons, as to suffer yourselves to be insulted, and robbed of your arms, by a few petty custom house officers, with impunity? Methinks I hear you say, it can not, it must not be done. * * * * In the name of heaven, throw off your supineness; assemble together immediately; and go in a body to the Collector; insist upon the arms being relanded, and that he must see them forthcoming, or abide the consequences. Delays are dangerous; there is no time to be lost. It is not a season to be mealy mouthed, or to mince matters; the times are precarious and perilous, and we do not know but that the arms may be wanted to-morrow." * * * * *

PLAIN ENGLISH.[*]

From the known boldness and activity of Mr. Lamb, and from the recollections of the oldest member of the family, as well as from the intrinsic evidence in the style and manner of these productions, we have the best reason to believe, that the letter to the Collector, and the handbill also, were written by him.

After the treachery of the printer of Parker's paper, in 1769, which occasioned the arrest and imprisonment of McDougall, the patriots, when their inflammatory appeals had been put in type by Holt or some other of the fraternity, used, themselves, to work off at the press, these publications, and circulate them among the community. And it was not unusual for Mr. Lamb, after having devoted the day in the composition of such papers, to spend the night in printing and distributing them. The same is averred of Marinus Willett, in the book of his son.

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[*] American Archives.

News had reached the Committee of the Sons of Liberty, that the Governor of Connecticut in secret council with the Assembly, had directed the provision of three hundred barrels of gunpowder and lead in proportion; and also the gathering of a park of forty pieces of cannon for the use of the colony. It was known that their militia was in constant drill, under the orders of a non-commissioned officer, a deserter from the troops at Boston; and the aspect of the times eastward, indicated a belligerent resolution. The Assembly of New York, however, by a small majority, were determined to adhere to the government.[‡] Motions were made on the 26th January 1775, by the patriotic members, to take up the proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia with a view to their approval; but the majority overruled them. This was deemed an important ministerial triumph, and the Lieut.-Gov. Colden, when it was announced to him exclaimed, "Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." Still the Committee of Sixty, aided by the indomitable Sons of Liberty, were resolved to carry out the resolves of the Congress.

On the 16th February, a ship, the James of Glasgow, arrived, and the consignees endeavored to land the cargo in contravention of the articles of association, but they were prevented. An attempt was then made to procure a posse, to enable them to effect their object; but the patriotic party prevailed, and the ship was ordered back. A lieutenant of the King Fisher, a king's vessel, prevented her from sailing. The people assembled in large numbers, and waited upon the captain of that vessel (who was on shore), who disavowed the act of his subordinate, and the Committee, resolved upon her departure, directed some of their numbers to see her safe at sea.

[*] American Archives. [†] Assembly Journals.

[‡] Holt's paper.

The patriotic party, on the 17th February, again made an attempt in the Assembly to procure a sanction to the proceedings of the Congress, by moving a vote of thanks to the members of that body; which was defeated by the majority. Another motion from the same side, of the 23d, directing the election of delegates to the new Congress, to assemble the tenth of May ensuing, shared the same fate; and the Assembly, previous to the adjournment, appointed a Committee, chiefly composed of members of the majority; of which the Speaker, John Cruger, was the head; as a committee of deliberation and enquiry; and after an address, which the patriotic members vainly endeavored to defeat by proposing amendments to render it less subservient to the Crown, the House adjourned.

The crisis was rapidly approaching: the people of Massachusetts were gathering implements and munitions of war. Some pieces of brass artillery had been deposited at Salem; and apprehensive that they might be converted to the use of the patriots, Governor Gage despatched Lieut.-Colonel Leslie, 26th February, by water to Marblehead, to secure and bring them off. In order to conceal this movement from the citizens, the utmost secresy was observed; and some individuals who had occasion to visit the castle, were detained there until the sailing of the expedition.* The troops landed and marched to Salem,† but the pieces had been removed. Ascertaining that divers trucks had left the town early in the morning, the troops were put in motion, and the day being Sunday, the track was easily followed, until the pursuers reached an arm of the sea, over which a drawbidge had been constructed; and which was raised to obstruct their farther progress.‡ This draw, Col. Leslie ordered to be lowered, but the citizens refused to comply; alleging that the road being a private one, they had a right to obstruct the passage. The colonel then commanded a boat to be launched, in order to pass his forces to the opposite shore. The people sprang forward with axes, and soon rendered the boat unserviceable. The officer, thus frustrated, threatened violence to the people; and blood would probably have been shed, had not a clergyman present, prevailed upon the people to lower the draw. The delay however, was sufficient: the patriots who had carried off the cannon, made good their retreat, and the expedition of the Governor was frustrated.* The following letter, to Mr. Lamb, communicated the result of the enterprise to the Sons of Liberty in New York:

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* Lamb papers.

† Almon's Remembrancer.

‡ Idem.

Boston, March 1, 1775.

Sir: Agreeable to what Mr. Revere wrote you by last Monday's post, we, the subscribers, have this day met, and determined to send you, weekly, the earliest and most authentic intelligence of what may be transacted in this metropolis and province, relating to the public affairs and general concerns of America; that you may have it in your power to contradict the many infamous lies, which are propagated by the enemies of our country. And we beg it as a particular favor, that you would appoint or agree with a number of gentlemen for the above purpose in your city; that we may have early information from you of whatever transpires in your city and province, of a public nature. At this critical period, we conceive it to be very important to the common cause, to have weekly or frequent communications.

We are, sir, your most obedient and most humble serv'ts.

Joshua Brackett,
Paul Revere,
Benj. Edes,
Joseph Ward,
Tho: Crafts, Junr.
Thomas Chase.

Mr. John Lamb.†

P. S.—Inclosed you have an account of the late expedition, which terminated to the honor of the Americans. In addition to the secrecy with which the manœuvre to Salem was conducted, we inform you that three persons were occasonally at the Castle on Saturday afternoon, and were detained there till ten o'clock on Monday, lest we should send an express to our brethren of Marblehead and Salem. Be pleased to direct your letters to Mr. Joshua Brackett, in Boston, innholder.*

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* Almon's Remembrancer.

† Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

The Committee of Sixty, although many of it members were of the majority in the Assembly adverse to the appointment of delegates to the new Congress, resolved to recommend that measure to the people. Accordingly, a notification was published, calling a meeting of the freeholders and freemen of the city, at the Exchange, on the 6th March, in order to take into consideration the election of delegates to a convention of representatives, from such of the counties as should adopt the measure, for the purpose of choosing proper persons to represent the Colony in the general Congress. This proceeding was opposed by the loyalists, on the ground that the representatives of the people in the Assembly had rejected a motion to that effect. The adverse party, however, resolved to carry out the recommendation of the Committee, and on the day appointed, assembled at the Liberty Pole, under a banner inscribed "Constitutional Liberty," and marched in procession to the Exchange. Not long after they had arrived, the other party appeared, headed by some of the members of His Majesty's Council, the members of the Assembly who had voted against a delegation, together with some officers of the army and navy, and of the customs. An affray was threatened; but after a while, the confusion subsided, and it was determined to send representatives to the Colonial Convention, with instructions to choose delegates to the General Congress. A nomination of eleven persons was made and adopted by the meeting, and a day, the 15th, named for the election.

When that day arrived, the measures recommended on the 6th, as well as the nomination made at the same time, were carried out by the people; eight hundred and twenty-six votes being in favor, and one hundred and sixty-three against them. The next day, the chairman of the Committee gave notice to the different counties. Many of these came into the measure, and on the 20th, a Provincial Congress assembled, which with unanimity appointed representatives to the General Congress. This was the first Provincial Congress of New York.

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* Lamb papers.

The Governor of Massachusetts had determined to build barracks for the troops; and the people were equally resolute in their purpose to prevent him. By means of their vigilant correspondents, the Sons of Liberty in New York became aware of all the movements intended to carry the Governor's plan into effect. It was ascertained that certain individuals in the city, had agreed to furnish boards for the building, and straw for the accommodation of the troops. A meeting was called the 20th April, of which Mr. Lamb and Marinus Willett were the presiding officers. They were addressed by Mr. Lamb, and apprised of the objects to which these articles were to be applied; and exhorted to interpose and prevent their shipment. Accordingly, a sloop laden with boards was taken into custody by the Committee, and its crew forbidden to proceed on the voyage; the straw for the same destination was also arrested.* At this meeting, it was proposed by Sears, that the people provide themselves with arms, and with twenty-four rounds of ammunition, which was agreed to. For proposing this bold measure,† and for his alacrity in carrying into effect the resolves of the meeting, Sears was arrested and carried before the Mayor. In imitation of the conduct of his compatriot, McDougall, on a former occasion, he refused to give bail, and was committed; but the populace took him by main force from the officers, and bore him in triumph through the town.‡

On the 24th, news arrived of the affair of Concord, and the subsequent battle of Lexington. The people, rousing at the intelligence, took possession of the City Hall, and armed themselves with the implements and munitions that it contained. Headed by Lamb, Sears, and others, they arrested and detained all the vessels in port, about to sail for the possessions of the British to the eastward. A quantity of rum had been imported into the city, which the collector of the port suspected to be for the supply of the patriots; and he accordingly refused to land it. Mr. Lamb, accompanied by Sears, called upon Mr. Elliott, the collector, and demanded the permit; and upon his refusal to grant it, they tendered him the amount of the duties chargeable upon it when landed. He still rejected the proffer. He was then informed that the rum would be landed in defiance of the custom house regulations. The vessel was ordered into the slip, carts were provided, and the liquor was taken out and carried away. Lamb and Sears then returned to the custom house, demanded the keys of the collector, and having received them, they dismissed the officers and closed the building; sending notice to Philadelphia and elsewhere, of what they had done, and calling upon all good patriots to follow their example.

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* Holt's papers. † Idem.

‡ Papers of the time. Holt, Gaine, &c.

The Committee of New York, received on the 2d May, from that of Boston, the announcement of the late hostilities, and of their expectation of aid, and countenance, from their fellow citizens. They accordingly held a meeting on the 5th,* and recommended the organization and equipment of the militia, and the provision of ammunition.† The city was now aroused, and a grand Committee of One Hundred was chosen; an address was drawn up,‡ to the Lord Mayor, and Common Council of London, explanatory of the views of America, in regard to their rights, and expressive of their determination to maintain them. This address was signed by a large body of the citizens, and a spirit of patriotism and zeal, pervaded all classes of the revolutionists.

The grand Committee of Safety assumed the duties for which they had been created; a military association was formed, under the command of Samuel Broome,* who volunteered their services to carry out the decrees of the Committee, whose offer was accepted. The Committee directed that all the cannon in the city, not the property of the colony, should be carried away, and on motion of Mr. Lamb,† a subcommittee was raised, to inquire into the state of the city arms, which had been taken from the hall, and the munitions in the magazine, and also to ascertain the quantity of arms and ammunition for sale in the city. The Committee of One Hundred moved an humble address‡ to the Lieut. Governor, explaining the motives to their appointment, " and assure his honor, that the Committee will at all times exert their utmost endeavors to promote good order, and support the civil magistrates, as far as shall be compatible with the melancholy exigencies of our public affairs."

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* American Archives, Holt's paper. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

But notwithstanding this pacific message, another subcommittee was appointed, " to examine the ground at or near King's bridge, and report to this Committee, with all convenient speed, whether it will answer the purposes intended by it."§ Mr. Lamb moved a Committee to present thanks to the officers and men of the Connecticut forces, (who had marched into the city), for the solicitude for the safety of the people, which they had displayed, and for their " noble zeal in the service of our common country, on this day of difficulty and danger;"§ and he also moved, that the corporation put the arms of the city in a serviceable condition, by providing them with steel rammers.||

These resolves were unanimously adopted, and a further resolution was passed, requiring the importers of arms, to report to the Committee the quantity in their possession, and denouncing the sale of arms, to any one believed to be hostile to the revolutionary party.¶ To counterbalance these belligerent movements, the Speaker of the Assembly, and several members of that body, in recess, presented a conciliatory address to Gen. Gage, requesting a forbearance of farther hostilities.

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* American Archives. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem. || Idem. ¶ Idem.

CHAPTER VII.

War begun.—Govenor temporizes.—British Troops expected.—Congress recommends no Opposition to the Landing.—Provision of warlike Stores.—Magazine at Turtle Bay seized.—Lamb applies for a Commission—is appointed to the Artillery.—Cannon ordered for the Forts in the Highlands.—Provincial Congress orders Cannon removed from the Battery.—Removed.—Asia fires upon the Town.—Lamb's Company filled up.—Ordered to the North.—Proceedings of Schuyler's Army.—Schuyler compelled to resign the Command.—Lamb arrives in Montgomery's Camp.—Siege of St. Johns.—New Batteries opened.—Efficiency of the fire.—Attempt to relieve Garrison.—Carlton repulsed.—Flag sent into the Fort.—Lamb receives the Surrender—takes possession of the Fort.—March on Montreal—arrival.—Disputes with the General.—Lamb proposes to resign.—Dissuaded by Montgomery—March on Quebec.—1775.

The curtain had now risen; the first Scene in the great tragedy to be enacted, was begun, and every true patriot was determined to play manfully, the part which was to be alotted him, in the coming events. An address was presented to Lieut.-Gov. Colden, on the 11th May,* commenting upon the repeated encroachments, and aggressions of the government. The sanguinary scenes which had occurred at the east; the hardships to which their brethren of Boston had been subjected, and expressing the resolution of the citizens, to resist similar aggressions: and as a mean of saving the city from devastation and bloodshed, they requested his Excellency, to use his influence with Gen. Gage, to prohibit the landing of such troops as had been ordered to this station.† The Governor attempted to quiet their alarm; assured them that no forces were expected, and that the rumor had been raised to justify the calling in of the troops from the adjoining province,‡ which had gathered under Wooster, and were now hanging upon the borders.§ The suggestion was artful, and more specious than true, for troops did actually arrive at the Hook, and were ordered to Boston.* The Continental Congress, anticipating the arrival of these reinforcements from England, recommended that no opposition should be made to their landing.† That they should have quiet possession of the barracks; but that they should not be permitted to erect any fortifications. And they especially enjoined that provision of warlike stores be forthwith made; and a safe retreat secured for the women and children.‡

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* Holt's paper, American Archives. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem

The Provincial Congress of New York, addressed a circular to the inhabitants of Canada, which they caused to be translated into French, by Paul Du Simitiere, a talented Frenchman, attached to the patriotic cause, which was afterwards industriously disseminated.§

In compliance with these requisitions, in regard to munitions of war, an important service was planned, and with the assistance of some of his tried associates, executed by Mr. Lamb.|| A quantity of military stores belonging to the King, were deposited at Turtle Bay, on the East River. And obtaining a vessel from Connecticut, with his resolute band, he passed up in the night, completely surprised the guard, and carried off the contents of the magazine. This bold exploit was of signal service to the country. A part of the stores thus obtained, was sent to the grand army at Cambridge, and the residue, destined for the Northern campaign, were in part, expended by Lamb's company at the siege of St. Johns some time afterwards.¶

Ticonderoga had been taken, and war seemed now inevitable. Mr. Lamb, therefore determined to offer his services to the Congress.** The scientific studies necessary to the prosecution of his early occupation, had been much cultivated and improved by an intimate association with Christopher Colles, a skilful engineer, both civil and military; and who was afterwards employed by the corporation of the city to conduct the water from a well in the vicinity of the Collect, or Fresh-water Pond, into the town, by means of hydraulic works. That gentleman was able and willing to impart a portion of his knowledge to his friend and pupil; and presented him with a valuable treatise on gunnery, of which he afterwards made good use. Accordingly, he applied for a commission, intimating his choice of the artillery, as he was better qualified for that arm of the service than any other. Still he continued an active and efficient member of the Grand Committee,* the duties of which had become so arduous that Edward Laight,† also an important member, moved that no one should absent himself from the sessions more than forty-eight hours. The application of Mr. Lamb was successful, and he was commissioned as captain of artillery, and ordered to organize a company.‡

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* Holt's paper, American Archives. † Idem. ‡Idem.

§ Handbills Historical Society. || Lamb papers. ¶ Idem.

** American Archives.

The Lieut.-Governor had, from time to time, prorogued the Assembly; and on the return of Gov. Tryon, on the 3d July, one of his first official acts was to extend that prorogation.§ The resumption of the reins of government by that functionary, was every thing but auspicious to the patriotic cause. During his long sojourn in England, he had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the designs of the Ministry, and most probably assisted with his counsels to mature their plans. It is certain that his arrival encouraged the royalists; and the influence which he had acquired over them was used to its utmost effect in thwarting the designs of the patriots.||

A boat of the Asia was destroyed by the populace, and the men belonging to her taken to Wooster's camp and detained. The corporation of the city directed that another boat should be built at the public expense, to replace the one destroyed; but the carpenters engaged were unwilling to work, unless their labors were sanctioned by the Committee of One Hundred. This was given; and the Provincial Con-

Appendix B. *American Archives. †Idem. §Idem. §Idem. ||Idem.

gress, on the 2d August, also disavowed the act of the people, and approved the measures of the corporation and the Committee. The King's store, on the North river, was broken open, and some of the property plundered, which was taken to Wooster's camp, was afterwards restored to the public officers. It was apprehended that these outbreaks might provoke retaliation; and the Provincial Congress passed a resolve, requesting Wooster, who then was removed some distance from the city, to reoccupy the camp at Harlaem, in order to afford protection to the citizens.

But little progress had been made in filling the company ordered to be raised by the Provincial Congress. At first, it was intended to fill it by drafts from the infantry companies already enlisted; but upon representations of Capt. Lamb, adverse to that measure, the Congress, on the seventeenth of July, passed an order to enlist men for the artillery; and this expedient having proved successful, the Congress directed the company to join the northern army; but no clothing having been provided, the troops were unable to begin their march.

General Schuyler had, early in the campaign, foreseen the necessity of an efficient director of the artillery, and wrote to Congress on that head as follows :—"Could not a gentleman be got to accept a commission as commander of artillery? Perhaps, if rank was given, it would induce some good man to undertake it. Such an officer is so evidently necessary, that I hope this recommendation will claim your attention."*

About this period, the rumor was rife that the Continental Congress had passed a declaration of independence of the mother country. This report was denied and denounced by the Committee of One Hundred, with much indignation.† The Continental Congress had required of New York a quota of three thousand men; and in addition to the company of artillery, four regiments were ordered to be raised. The first was placed under the command of Alexander McDougall, the second under Gozen Van Schaick, the third under James Clinton, and the fourth under Colonel Holmes.*

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* American Archives. † Idem.

The Convention had resumed its session, and a resolve having been passed by the Continental Congress, to provide cannon for the armament of the forts ordered to be constructed in the Highlands, the Provincial Congress deemed this sufficient warrant to direct the removal of the cannon from the battery in the city.* Captain Lamb was ordered to this service, and on the 23d August, with his company, assisted by a part of a corps of independents of the command of Col. Lasher, and a body of the citizens, proceeded in the evening to execute the order of the Congress. Some intimation must have been given to Captain Vandeput, the commander of the Asia (a line of battle-ship stationed off the Battery), of the intended movement; for upon the arrival of the military, they found a barge and crew, lying on their oars, close under the Fort.† A detachment of observation was accordingly stationed on the parapet, to watch the proceedings of the enemy, with orders to return the fire if attacked. As soon as the artillery was in motion, a false fire was signaled from the boat; and immediately afterwards, a musket was discharged at the citizens, who returned it with a volley. The barge retreated to the ship, with several killed and wounded, and when out of the range of fire from the Asia, three guns from the ship were discharged in quick succession. The drums on the Battery beat to arms, and were answered by a broadside from the Asia, of round and grape; and the fire was rapidly repeated for some time.‡ Meanwhile the cannon were moved off with great deliberation; and all that were mounted, twenty-one pieces, were safely carried away. Three men were wounded on the Battery; and some damage was done to the houses near the Fort, and at Whitehall. The alarm was serious in the city, and many of the inhabitants removed their families beyond the reach of danger.

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* American Archives.

† Holt's paper. ‡ Idem.

The Provincial Congress had passed a resolve, ordering the company of Captain Lamb, to be attached to the first regiment of infantry, to which McDougall had been appointed colonel; and that it should be considered as forming part of the quota of New York, to consist of three thousand men.[*] To this arrangement, Captain Lamb objected as unusual and unjust; as it placed the artillery on a level with the infantry; a practice unprecedented in any service, and he tendered his resignation. But on the next day, a resolve was passed, putting his company upon the same footing of the Rhode Island company, raised upon the old artillery establishment, until the General Congress should determine otherwise.[§] He withdrew his resignation, which had not been accepted; and prepared to join the Northern army, agreeably to the order which had been that day given.

On the 1st September, a few days before the troops embarked, an unpleasant occurrence took place. One of the men who was first enlisted, an Englishman of dissolute habits, being in a state of intoxication; attacked the Captain-Lieutenant, Isaiah Wool, with so much violence, as to compel that officer, in his own defence, to cut him down. The wound thus given, disabled him from marching, and owing to this, and to his mutinous character, he was discharged. Another casualty, deprived the company of the service of an efficient recruit. As the roll was called for embarkation, one of the men was not present: search was instantly made for him, but the man could not be found; and from the circumstance of his coat, and part of his clothing being discovered in a house of ill fame, it was conjectured that he had been murdered there.

[*] American Archives, 701, 4th series.

[‡] Idem.

[§] Lamb's papers.

No time was lost on the arrival at Albany, on the 6th, and all expedition was made for the frontier.* When, on the 14th, the company arrived at Ticonderoga, the means of transportation were limited; but orders had been given to forward this company in preference to all others, and they were embarked on the 17th.†

Generals Schuyler, and Montgomery, had reached Isle La Motte, on the fourth of September, and the next day proceeded to Isle au Noix, which lies at the entrance of the Sorel, the outlet of Lake Champlain, twelve miles from St. Johns.‡ The day after, with one thousand men, they marched for the purpose of making a reconnoissance of the Fort. On the march, the left, being part of Col. Waterbury's command, were assailed by some tories and Indians, in ambuscade, and were smartly engaged for several minutes, when the enemy were routed and dispersed.‡ In this affair, six were killed, and ten wounded on our side, and an equal loss was sustained on the part of the enemy.§ Among the killed of that party, was an old acquaintance of Capt. Lamb, whom he had formerly known in New Jersey, and deemed him to be a friend to the country; but removing to Johnstown, in Tryon county, he had been won over by Claus, and Johnston, and had joined the enemy. Lamb was not disposed to grieve for the loss of his former friend, for no man was more severe against deserters from a cause, which he himself held sacred.||

While reconnoitering the Fort, the observing party was exposed to the fire of its batteries, and an officer and several men were wounded. Finding the place too well defended against assault, Schuyler returned to Isle au Noix, and constructed a boom across the river, to prevent the enemy's flotilla, consisting of a schooner of twelve nine pounders, and a number of armed batteaux, from passing into the lake.¶

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* Letter from Lamb, American Archives, 704, 4th series.

† American Archives, and Lamb's letter, 707. ‡ Idem. § Idem. || Idem.

¶ American Archives, and Lamb's letter, 707.

Cols. Claus, and Johnston, had reached Montreal, with a view of raising the Canadian noblesse on the side of the British, and to keep the Indians in their allegiance.* False alarms, of the most aggravated nature, were industriously circulated; among others, it was said that in the pocket of an American officer, killed by the savages, were found instructions from Schuyler, to give no quarter to the Canadians and Indians.† The grossness of this fabrication was so palpable, that it did the inventors much injury. False rumors were also rife on our side, and it was asserted, and for some time believed, that the head of the slain officer alluded to, had been severed from his body, and stuck over the gate at Fort St. John, in defiance of the invaders.‡

Gen. Schuyler was now compelled, by increasing illness, to return to Ticonderoga, and Montgomery, having been reinforced, again advanced to St. Johns, with one thousand men. He ordered Lieut. Col. Ritzma, of the New York regiment, with five hundred men, to march down the river, and take post below the Fort, to intercept supplies from that quarter. Passing a log house, this detachment received a volley from within, which was returned, and two Indians killed. Ritzma disconcerted by this attack, thought proper to draw off his forces, and return to camp, to the great mortification of the General, who was compelled, in consequence, to return to Isle au Noix.§ Farther reinforcements arriving, with some ammunition and artillery, on the 17th, the General again embarked for St. Johns, and landing at his former encampment, about a mile and a half from the Fort, he dispatched a force of five hundred men, to execute the service formerly entrusted to Ritzma, which at this time was more successfully performed. The place was now invested; on the 18th, a battery, eight hundred yards distant from the works, was erected on a point of land commanding the Fort, the ship yards, and an armed schooner abreast of the Fort. Another, at six hundred yards, in the woods, on the east side, was thrown up on the 22d, provided with two small mortars. During the erection of these batteries, the enemy kept up an incessant fire upon the fatigue parties, by which some men were killed, and a great number wounded. This fire was feebly returned from such of the guns as were mounted, owing to the scantiness of ammunition.

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* American Archives, and Lamb's letter. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

§ This man was undoubtedly a coward; and Mr. Willett, in the life of his father, affirms that he, as well as Zedwitz, the major of the regiment, deserted to the enemy. On a subsequent occasion during the siege, Zedwitz was ordered to take a position in the night, which was expected to be attacked by the Indians. Capt. Lamb being off duty, happened to be at his quarters, when the order was delivered. Zedwitz was about to refuse the command, when he was prevailed upon by Lamb, (who offered to accompany him,) to obey. During the march, Zedwitz made such frequent appplication to the bottle, that he became perfectly drunk, and Capt. Lamb took the command of the detachment, until it was ordered to retire in the morning.

At this juncture, Captain Lamb arrived, bringing a small but welcome supply of military stores; and having, on the 26th, bedded a thirteen inch mortar, he commenced a fire of shot and shells upon the Fort.* The distance was too great, and the positions of the batteries were ill chosen. A detachment of one hundred and fifty men had, on the 17th, been sent to Chamblee, a post down the river, twelve miles from St. Johns; these, at a short distance below the Fort, were attacked in front by a party of Indians, and annoyed in flank, by the fire of two batteaux, armed with swivels, who kept up a discharge of grape shot, which compelled them to retreat. During this skirmish, the American flotilla, and the batteries, commenced a fire upon the batteaux, in support of the detached party, and a twelve pound shot, striking one of the boats, raked it from stem to stern, by which thirty-five men were killed or drowned.

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* To show in what estimation Capt. Lamb was, even in this early stage of the campaign, held as an officer; the following extract of a letter from General Schuyler, to the Commander in Chief, is given:

TICONDEROGA, 20th Sept. 1775.

"And I suppose the Artillery Company under Capt. Lamb, will join them to-day. These last were indispensably necessary, as we had none that knew any thing of the matter."

Gen. Montgomery was aware of the defects of both his batteries; and he was solicitous to abandon the one on the east side, and erect another in the opposite quarter. But he was informed by Major Brown, that the men would not consent to a change of position, and would leave him if attempted. He then called a council of field officers, and explained his reasons for the change. The position intended to be chosen, was nearer the object of attack, and no shot would have been expended from it in vain; as all that missed the parapet, would strike a stone house within the walls. The reasoning of Montgomery was sufficient to convince General Schuyler, to whom they were afterwards detailed, but they failed of any effect upon the council of field officers; for they unanimously determined to retain the old position; and the General was compelled to abandon his design in despair, with little hope of reducing the garrison, except by blockade and starvation. While this gallant officer was encountering the utmost mortification, by the insubordination of his troops, and the pertinacity of his officers, he was cheered by the success of his batteries, in sinking the enemy's schooner, and by the surrender of Chamblee; by which means, his army was well supplied with ammunition, and he could carry on the siege with full vigor.* This intelligence he immediately communicated to General Schuyler, who also had his full share of disgusts and disappointment. Wooster, who had been appointed a major-general by Connecticut, had arrived at Ticonderoga, and had undertaken to execute some acts of authority, in derogation of the power of the commander of the department.† General Schuyler complained of these, and Wooster gave such explanation as was for the time satisfactory; but being apprehensive that similar acts might occur, and create farther uneasiness in Montgomery's mind, already too much irritated, he endeavored to prevail on General Wooster, to send on his men by a subordinate officer. But the men declared they would not move, without their favorite commander. Schuyler then informed the Connecticut general that if he joined the camp, his commission in the Continental service being of later date than that of Montgomery, he would rank subordinate to the commands of that general. Wooster, although he thought it rather hard to to be obliged to serve under a younger officer, patriotically waived his claim of rank and his commission from Connecticut, and consented to join the army. But when that point was yielded, the troops began to doubt whether they would move at all: and, finally, they determined not to expose themselves to the rigors of a northern winter, cut off from a possibility of return, by hyperborean frosts and snows.

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* Marshall.

† It was upon similar provocations that the much abused and ill requited General thus expressed himself to Congress: "If Job had been a general in my situation, his memory had not been so famous for patience."—*Schuyler to Congress*, *Sept.* 21, 1775.

Against this resolution, Wooster vehemently remonstrated; but found support only from his secretary and chaplain: the latter of whom was most indefatigable in his exertions. His lay and clerical exhortations, were eventually successful, and the men consented to embark on the 23d October. In a few days, the General and his men reached the camp; and probably his influence produced some change in the disposition of the batteries, for the army, on the 28th, took up a new position, on the northwest side of the work.* Here a battery was erected, on an eminence commanding the Fort, within two hundred and fifty yards. Three twelve, one nine-pounder, with three mortars and three cohorns, were mounted; and while it was in process of erection, the enemy kept up a constant fire of round and grape shot; by which several were killed or wounded.† Captain Lamb, who commanded in this battery, returned the enemy's shot, by a persevering and well directed fire, which was kept up, without intermission, day and night, and did great execution.*

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* American Archives.

† Holt's paper.

Governor Carleton had learnt the extremity to which the garrison of St. Johns was reduced, and resolved on a vigorous effort to relieve it. He embarked with a large force from Montreal, and detailed Colonel Maclean,† with three hundred and fifty men, to coöperate with him by a different route. This officer, who had recently joined General Carleton, had been arrested on his way to the Canadas, and interrogated by the Provincial Congress of New York, in regard to the object of his journey; and he gave assurances of his pacific intentions, which so far satisfied that body, that they suffered him to proceed; but notwithstanding these declarations, he at the time, bore the King's commission to raise a body of Highlanders for the service of the Crown, a part of which composed the detachment. The two divisions, after effecting a junction, were to push forward; and at a given signal, the garrison were to attempt a sortie. By this attack, he hoped to raise the siege and force the Americans to retreat; or at least, to enable Major Preston to cut his way through the invaders, and form a junction with him to defend Montreal; but attempting to land at Longueile, he was met by Colonel Warner, at the head of his Vermonters, and a part of the second New York regiment (Van Schaick's), and effectually repulsed.‡ News of this defeat had reached Montgomery;§ and aware of the condition of the garrison and of their expectations of relief from this movement, in order to save the effusion of blood, he determined to send a flag, with one of the prisoners taken at Longueil, to Major Preston, the commander of the fort, and invite him to surrender.‖ With this view, late in the evening of the 2d November, he sent an officer to Captain Lamb,§ with instructions to cease fire until farther orders. Major Preston, who had made a very brave defence, doubted, or pretended to doubt, the prisoner's report, alleging that he was subject to fits of insanity: he offered to surrender if not relieved in four days. To these conditions the General would not accede; but sent the officer back with his ultimatum, which, if not complied with, should be announced rejected, by a shot from the fort. Preston, despairing of relief, now agreed to capitulate. The terms were adjusted, and next morning, Capt. Lamb, with his company and a detachment of two hundred men from the other corps of the army, was ordered to receive the surrender of the fort, and to take possession.* The garrison, consisting of five hundred men of the regular army, and one hundred Canadians, many of them of the noblesse of the Province, were made prisoners of war. During the siege, the fort expended six hundred shells, beside round and grape shot.†

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* American Archives. Marshall. Holt's paper. † Idem. ‡ Idem.
§ Idem. ‖ Idem.

The protraction of the seige of St. Johns was fatal to the success of the campaign. Had the means at the disposal of Schuyler, been more efficient, or had those under the command of Montgomery been governed by the discretion of the General, the fortress might have been earlier taken, and a junction formed with Arnold, in time to have taken advantage of the panic of the garrison of Quebec. That city, although better fortified, was not, until after the taking of St. Johns, so well garrisoned as the captured fortress; and would, in all probability, have opened its gates to the combined American forces. It is true, the Green Mountain boys, after engaging to follow, had, in consequence of some grievance, fancied or real, deserted Montgomery's standard; but with what remained of the army after their defection, the force was sufficiently formidable to warrant success. The causes for this delay, are to be found principally in the demurs and dissatisfaction of the troops; and there are many reasons to believe that the General had increased these discontents, and his own difficulties, by his impetuosity, and a spirit too exacting.

* Vide Appendix B.

† Marshall.

During the seige, Captain Gershom Mott, of the first, or McDougall's regiment, had command of the fatigue party who were erecting the mortar battery; and upon a sudden alarm in the night, had abandoned his post and retreated. The account of a lieutenant of the party being at variance with that of Capt. Mott, the General was induced to believe that the battery had been unnecessarily abandoned; and he ordered the arrest of Mott, whom he threatened to treat with great rigor. Mott was known to the officers of the New York troops, as one of the most daring agitators of the times preceding the Revolution; and none knew him better than Captain Lamb, with whom he had acted for ten years upon the most important committees—from the time of the burning of Lieut.-Gov. Colden in effigy, in 1765, to the opening of the campaign. Neither he nor his fellow officers could believe, that one who had always displayed so much moral firmness, and who had frequently encountered personal danger with intrepidity, could be stained with cowardice; and they petitioned the General to restore him to his command. This interference was not well received by the General, and it formed one of his complaints to Schuyler; but it appears that he must have yielded to the request, as Mott marched with his company to Montreal, and behaved well at the storm of Quebec.*

Another instance occurred,† in which the opinions of the New York officers came in conflict with that of the General. In the articles of capitulation of St. Johns, the baggage of the officers and that of the men was secured to them. But in addition to the clothing already served out previous to the surrender, a new suit for each soldier was claimed from the captured stores; and this was ordered by the General to be given them.‡ The best clothed of our troops, were scantily provided, and many were nearly naked: these thought the order of the General more generous to the prisoners than just to his own soldiers, and murmured at it. The officers joined in that belief, and remonstrated against what they thought an overstraining of the articles, to the prejudice of their men. The General took fire at this interposition, and insisted that the rules of the British service allowed an extra suit, for holiday purposes.* The officers demurred to this decision. They could not perceive the propriety of condemning their men to severe privations; while the prisoners, who were to be marched into a warmer climate, should be permitted to carry away a superabundance of clothing.

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* Holt's paper. † American Archives. ‡ Idem.

The march on Montreal commenced the day after the surrender of St. Johns, by the way of La Prairie. The forces of Gov. Carleton held the mouth of the Sorell, and Col. Easton, with Livingston's corps, and Brown's detatchments, was sent to dislodge them. This enterprise was successful, and Col. Maclean, who, with a body of Highlanders, raised in the province, and some Canadians loyal to the Crown, held the post, were defeated and driven off, before the British flotilla on the St. Lawrence, could make its escape. While thus hemmed in, Carleton heard of Arnold's arrival before Quebec; and committing the defence of Montreal to Gen. Prescott, disguised as a Canadian voyageur, he embarked on board a canoe, himself assisting at the paddles, and successfully passed the American batteries at the mouth of the Sorell. The fire of these was so well directed, as to compel the British vessels above them to surrender; in effecting this, Lieut. Lockwood, of the Connecticut forces, performed efficient service.

Not long after the surrender of the fleet, Montgomery appeared before Montreal, and despairing of a successful resistance, Gen. Prescott capitulated.

It is not surprising, that in the controversy respecting the issue of the clothing taken at St. Johns, that the officers of the New York troops, should have taken that view of the question which they believed their duty prompted; and it is highly probable, that Gen. Montgomery was right, in ascribing to Capt. Lamb, which he did, in a letter, of Nov. 13th, to Gen. Schuyler, the day of the surrender of Montreal, much of the vehemence with which he was urged on that occasion.* For Lamb was peculiarly tenacious of his own rights, and even more sensitive to any attempt to infringe those of his men, and therefore likely to resist any curtailment of their comforts.

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* American Archives.

† American Archives. ‡ Marshall. § American Archives.

Another offence of a still more serious nature, provoked the high spirited Commander. He had consented that many of the prisoners taken at Montreal, among whom were some officers of rank, should remain on parole within the city, while the army marched on Quebec;† and as the officers generally were of the opinion that such indulgence was dangerous, they, on the 23d November remonstrated against it.‡ This so incensed Montgomery, that he threw up the command.§ But when a committee was appointed to explain the motive, they alleged it to have been done, to afford the Commander an excuse for refusing further indulgence, and for retracting that already granted, if he should afterwards concur with them in their opinion. This excuse was sufficient to mollify the resentment of the General, and he resumed the command.

On this occasion, in a letter to Gen. Schuyler, of the 24th, he charges Captain Lamb with being the agitator; and admitting his "bravery," "activity," and "intelligence," accuses him of being of "bad temper, turbulent and troublesome."‖ If, by being of a bad temper, he meant, and probably he did mean nothing more, than that he was sudden and irascible; none who ever knew Capt. Lamb, will deny the charge. But his temper, if hasty, was noble and generous; not tinctured with moroseness, or malevolence; ever ready to repair a wrong, and placable to any concession, whenever any such was inflicted upon him. He saw men and things, through a different medium from that which formed the General's perspective; and to what extent he and his coadjutors were justifiable, the facts must determine. It is too evident that Montgomery had imbibed prejudices common to the officers bred in the English army, and that his aristocratic propensities caused him to undervalue the officers under him.* That their coarse habiliments, and imperfect equipments, (many of those of the infantry, from the city of New York, having been obliged to ask advances from the Provincial Congress, to complete their outfit), seem to have generated contempt in his mind, is evident from his letter to Schuyler, in which he says, "I wish some method could be fallen upon of engaging *gentlemen* to serve."† This remark, in connection with another, lauding the gentility of the officers taken at Chamblee,‡ indicates that he considered those in service under him as beyond the prescribed pale; and the natural consequences of such an opinion, would be to increase the difficulties under which he labored.

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* American Archives. Dunlap's History. † Idem.

‡ American Archives. § Idem. ‖ Idem.

If, as we are free to admit, there was a deviation from subordination to military rule on these occasions, there are many things which may be pleaded in palliation. This was Lamb's first campaign. At home, he had been for some time, possessed of almost tribunitial authority; and he found it difficult, thus soon, to yield implicit obedience to the military consul.

There can be no doubt, that these passages were reviewed in after life, with little satisfaction; especially, as the accomplished General, whom none more ardently admired than Captain Lamb, had met so gallantly a soldier's doom. For when he himself had risen in the service, he was peculiarly sensitive to any encroachments of his superiors, and equally tenacious of his own authority with regard to his subordinates.§

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* American Archives. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

§ To the officers under his command, he was always kind and courteous, unless prompted to a different course, by any breaches of civility on

At Montreal, Captain Lamb was informed that the General Congress had not taken satisfactory order, with regard to the pay and emolument of his company, promised by the Provincial Congress. As most of his men had been enlisted under assurances of being put upon the footing of the artillery of other armies, this neglect placed him in an unpleasant position, with respect to the men thus enlisted; and he could not endure the thought of retaining the command of dissatisfied soldiers, who might think him a party to their disappoinment. He, therefore, signified to General Montgomery his determination to retire from the public service. From this resolution, the General most earnestly dissuaded him;* and immediately wrote to General Schuyler, urging him to use his influence to remove the causes of his dissatisfaction. "If (says he) we are to have artillery, Captain Lamb is absolutely necessary to the army."† As this letter

their part: and to the younger officers he was particularly affectionate and considerate. But he would bear no approach to an improper familiarity. The wound that he had received at Quebec, disfigured the left eye and cheek, and he wore a green patch over it, to conceal the deformity.

The following anecdote is told by General Burbec, the son of an old artillery commander; and himself an officer in the same corps, during the war of the Revolution:

"In 1780, he was ordered to West Point, under the command of Col. Lamb, and afterwards removed to the Park, posted in the vicinity. While there, he contracted a violent inflammation in his eyes, and requested to be ordered to the garrison, to put himself under cure. He reported himself at the quarters of the colonel, who received him with great cordiality, and dismissed him, that he might pay his respects to the ladies at the post. These thinking that the 'joke' would be 'laughable,' persuaded him to place a patch over the left side of his face; and they fabricated one, exactly resembling the colonel's. Thus accoutred, he made his appearance at the quarters of the Commander. He was received with a reserved bow, and accosted with some sternness: Sir, I perceive you are in a fair way to be cured of your malady, and the sooner you join your company at the Park, the better." There was no appeal, and the furlough was shortened.

* American Archives. Holt's paper. Dunlap's History. † Idem.

was written after the altercation respecting the clothing taken at St. Johns, it is evidence of the placability of the General, and of the predominance in his mind of the public good, over his own private griefs.

CHAPTER VIII.

March on Quebec.—Junction with Arnold.—Quebec invested.—Breastworks of Ice.—Fire on the Town ineffectual.—Montgomery's Visit to the Trenches.—Aaron Burr.—Preparations for storming Delayed.—Resolved on.—Montgomery killed.—McPherson — Cheeseman.—Campbell orders a Retreat.—Lamb with Arnold's Detachment, leads the Van of the Stormers.—First Battery.—Gun abandoned.—Battery carried by the Bayonet.—Arnold wounded.—Morgan.—Lamb wounded.—Second Barrier carried.—News of the Repulse of Montgomery.—Sortie of the Garrison.—Retreat of the Advance cut off.—Occupy a House.—Cannon brought against it.—Surrender of the Detatchment. Scottish Commissary.—The Hospital.

The supplies obtained at Sorel and at Montreal, afforded comfortable clothing for the troops; but difficulties beset the gallant General on every side. The Roman Catholic priests had exerted their great influence with the Canadian noblesse, to induce them not to join his army, or to declare against the British; and he was forced to be content with professions of neutrality, of doubtful continuance, should the fate of war be adverse to the expedition.* Soon, that curse of the army, short enlistments, began to thin their ranks, by the abandonment of those companies whose engagements had expired;† but he did his best to conquer those difficulties, and to hasten his departure from Monreal. Capt. Willett had been placed in charge of the garrison at St. Johns; and leaving Wooster in command of the posts behind him, Montgomery embarked his troops on board the flotilla captured from the enemy, and made all haste to join Arnold at Point au Tremble. From thence, both detachments taking up their march, they arrived and encamped together on the Plains of Abraham, on the 5th December.

Here in the dead of winter, the ground frozen to a great depth, and covered with snow; scantily provided with intrenching tools; with only a field train of artillery, and a few mortars; the General made the best dispositions for attack which the occasion presented.* Gabions, ranged abreast, and filled up with snow, with water poured upon it until it was thoroughly frozen, formed the only intrenchments;† and by incessant labor and perseverance, they succeeded in throwing up a breast work opposite to the gate of St. Louis, four hundred yards distant from the walls, for the artillery, while Montgomery, with the major part of the army, sat down opposite to the citadel of Cape Diamond; some mortars had also been placed in the suburbs of St. Roques. From the ice battery, upon which was mounted five guns and a howitzer, Capt. Lamb commenced a well sustained but ineffectual fire upon the walls. This was returned by the heavy artillery of the fortress, with ample usury: the brittle barriers were shivered at every discharge; some of the guns were dismounted, and rendered useless, while scarcely any impression was made upon the ramparts of the enemy.

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* Marshall. † Idem.

The commander of the artillery was exceedingly annoyed by one particular gun from the town, the position of which he marked by its ranging with the tower of a church, which at each discharge, scattered his fragile defenses in every direction. On one occasion, a shot from this piece struck the muzzle of one of his own guns, and splintered a piece of metal from it; and scarcely had it been repointed and discharged, when the next shot from the town dismounted this identical gun.‡ For five successive days and nights, the garrison were kept on the alert, by the shot and shells of this battery; and although very slight damage was done to the wall by the balls, the town was fired by the shells in many places. Gen. Montgomery, in the hope that the citizens were disaffected, now summoned the garrison to surrender; but the flag was fired upon, and ordered back. In order to create dissatisfaction among the population, the Indians in the invading camp, were instructed to fire letters, attached to their arrows, to the citizens, announcing Carleton's refusal to treat, and advising them to compel him to do so, by popular clamor;* but nothing was gained by the manœuvre. Little had been expected from these batteries, by those who had them in command, and knew the inefficiency and lightness of the guns; which excluded all hope of being able to breach the walls:† still, however, they answered the destructive discharges of the garrison, with great spirit. It was near the close of the day, the fire during which had been unusually destructive, that Gen. Montgomery paid a visit to the trenches; and at the instant that one of the murderous missiles of the enemy had dismounted one of the guns, and disabled many of the men, he arrived in the battery.‡ A second shot, almost as destructive, immediately followed. "This is warm work, sir!" addressing Captain Lamb. "It is, indeed." was the reply, "and certainly no place for you, sir." "Why so, Captain?" said the General. "Because," he answered, "there are enough of us here to be killed, without the loss of you, which would be irreparable."§ After some time the General became satisfied of the insufficiency of the batteries, and on retiring he gave Capt. Lamb permission to withdraw his men, whenever he thought proper: immediately, if he chose to do it. He decided to remain until after dark; when, securing all their guns, they abandoned the ruined redoubt. On this occasion, the General was accompanied by Aaron Burr,|| whom he had appointed his aid. This was the first time that Lamb had ever seen him; and as his appearance was juvenile in the extreme, he wondered that the General should encumber his family, with the addition of one, who seemed a mere boy. But upon a more thorough scrutiny of his countenance, the fire of his eye, and his perfect coolness and immobility, under

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* Marshall. † American Archives. Holt's paper.

‡ Holt's paper.

† Holt.
‡ Family tradition.
§ Idem.
|| Idem.

such dangerous fire, convinced him that the young volunteer was no ordinary man; and not out of place in the most important position.

The only hope now, was by escalade, and this the General resolved to attempt; but the design was for a long time delayed by the dissensions which had grown up in his camp.* A feud of long standing, had existed between Arnold and Major Brown, who had done good service at St. Johns and Chamblee. Arnold, who had been commissioned by Massachusetts to enlist men for the capture of Ticonderoga;† hearing that a movement for the same purpose, was about to be made by Ethan Allen and others; anticipated the march of his own levies, and reached the forces destined for the attempt, at Castleton, in Vermont.‡ With these troops was Major Brown. Arnold exhibited his commission, and claimed the command, which was refused by Allen and his associated officers. The resentment roused by this occurrence was never appeased; but was exhibited on both sides, on many occasions throughout the Canadian campaign. Before the junction with Montgomery, some difficulty had arisen between the commander of the other corps, and one of his captains; with whom, two others, afterwards, sided. Brown took this occasion to gall his former antagonist, by fomenting the dispute,§ and encouraging them to hope to be detached from Arnold's corps, to a separate command under him. When a council was called, and the plan of attack by storm proposed, Montgomery found, to his great mortification and surprise, that these three captains made their detachment from Arnold, a condition of assent to the service.‖ To this act of injustice, the General would not consent, and it was with great difficulty, that the malcontents could be made to forego their unreasonable demand, and join in the attack.

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* American Archives, Holt's paper.

† Idem.

‡ American Archives.

§ Idem.

‖ Idem.

This insurrectionary movement quelled, the General formed his plan of the assault. One-third part of the effective men of the army, taking advantage of a favorable wind, were to fire some houses which would have communicated the conflagration to the stockades recently erected at St. Roques,* and in the confusion, they were to force the barriers of the lower town, while the main body attempted the bastion at Cape Diamond, by escalade.† The ladders were provided, and a favorable moment awaited with anxiety, but from some movement of the garrison, it was suspected, that the plan had been made known to the Governor,‡ by deserters, who had left the camp, after the arrangement had been determined on, and the design was abandoned. Still resolved upon a coup de main, the General directed Col. Livingston to make a false attack, with shew of firing the gate of St. John, and another detachment under Capt. Brown, to make a feint upon the bastion at Cape Diamond.§ While Arnold's corps, strengthened by Capt. Lamb, with forty men of his company, should assault the suburbs and batteries by St. Roques,|| Montgomery himself, at the head of the residue of the forces, was to pass below the bastion of Cape Diamond, and defiling along the river, carry the defences at Drummond's Wharf. The morning of 31st December arrived, and with it a heavy fall of snow, which in some measure, gave facility to the operations, and all parties proceeded to execute the several duties assigned to them.¶ Something occurred to prevent Livingston's attack on the gate of St. John, thereby failing to create a diversion favorable to Arnold's detachment. But the feint on Cape Diamond was made, which concealed the march of the General, who, notwithstanding great difficulties, occasioned by the broken and narrow path they had to pursue; he, at the head of his forlorn hope, surprised the battery, and as soon as the piquets could be sufficiently removed, with his aids, and Capt. Cheeseman, of the first New York regiment, followed by some of his men, he entered the breach sword in hand.* The surprise was perfect; the gunners broke from their guns, leaving their linstocks behind them.† The General, and his gallant associates, were pressing on, elated with success, when a drunken sailor,‡ staggering up to the gun, gave fire with most fatal effect. The gallant Montgomery, with McPherson, one of his aids, and the brave Capt. Cheeseman, of the Yorkers, were struck down. The two first were instantly killed, but Cheeseman, who had received a canister shot through the body, made an effort to rise, and push onward; but the wound was mortal, and he fell back a corpse.

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* American Archives. † Idem.

‡ Marshall, American Archives, Holt's paper. § Idem. || Idem.

¶ American Archives, Holt's paper.

This gallant officer, had a remarkable presentiment, that he should fall in the attack, and mentioned it freely to his comrades. He dressed himself that morning with unusual neatness, and putting a considerable sum of gold in his pocket, cheerfully remarked, that it might ensure him a decent burial. With him, fell a sergeant, and several men of his company.§ The death of Montgomery, was fatal to the enterprise. The officer next to the General in lineal rank, was at some distance from the front of the detachment, and Col. Campbell, the Quartermaster-General to the army of the north, took the responsibility of assuming the command, for which he was totally unqualified; for instead of inspiriting the men, and pressing on the victory half won, he was entirely disconcerted by the sudden loss of the commander, and ordered a retreat, leaving || behind him fifteen dead bodies of the detachment, among whom was that of Montgomery himself. ✓

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* Marshall, American Archives, Holt's paper. † Idem.

‡ Family tradition. § Holt.

|| It was unfortunate that this individual had acquired so much influence over the mind of the General, as to have been employed on this occasion, and still more so, that no officer was present, entitled to dispute the command with Col. Campbell. Parts of the New York regiments were engaged in this storm; but the first had marched under the Lieut.

Meanwhile, the diversion in favor of the other detachment, the attack upon the gate of St. John, had failed;* but at the signal given, they marched with great secrecy and despatch. It was necessary to make a considerable detour to the south, in order to gain the east side of the town; and to march through the suburb St. Roque, under the walls, to the south, or river side of the city. Arnold, like Montgomery, had resolved to lead the forlorn hope in person. Accompanied by Oswald, one of his former captains at Ticonderoga, now his secretary† and twenty-five men, and followed by Captain Lamb‡ and his company, with a field piece, mounted on a sled, they pressed on to the attack. The main body marched in the rear of the artillery; a company with ladders and scaling implements preceding Morgan with his riflemen. The path to the battery was so narrow, that the guns which defended it commanded every inch of the passage; while the right flank of the whole corps was exposed to a fire from the walls of the town§ and the pickets of the barrier. The fall of snow, which had continued without intermission, was so heavy, and the drifts so deep, as to render it impossible to move the field piece further; and Captain Lamb sent notice to the commander, while his company was brought to a halt.‖ He informed the officer of the next corps in his rear of his inability to move, and offered to open his column, so as to permit the advance; but the prudent captain declined to avail himself of this opportunity to lead the van, alleging

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Colonel, and even he had been left behind at Montreal, and Col. James Clinton, of the third regiment, brother of George Clinton, afterwards Governor of New York, did not arrive in camp until a fortnight after the repulse. Had not that officer been on other duty, the command would have devolved on him, and from his well known resolution, we have assurance that he would not have retreated, while a possibility of success remained.

* Marshall. † American Archives.

‡ The histories of this seige, all deceived by Lamb being with Arnold's detachment at the storm, affirm that he marched with him through the wilderness; and Marshall, in his last revised edition, has not corrected the error of his first publication in that respect.

§ Idem ‖ Family tradition.

that he was specially ordered to keep in rear of the artillery, and the march of the whole detachment was impeded.* Morgan, who followed next, pressed forward to ascertain the delay; and ordered the too scrupulous officer onward, with a very emphatic anathema. The artillery opened to the right and left, and afforded a passage. In this manner, they passed through to the front, and Morgan was first after Arnold, under the piquets of the battery, and engaged with the enemy.†

Arnold was now wounded and forced to retire; and Lamb, receiving orders to abandon the gun, led on his company, armed with muskets, to assist the advance.‡ The joining of Lamb with a band of resolute fellows with bayonets, was to Morgan a joyful circumstance. The rifle is not an efficient weapon in an escalade, particularly in the obscurity of a night, increased by the falling snow; and although Botta, in extolling the skill of the American sharp shooters, makes them kill many of the British gunners through the embrazures, he forgets that the darkness was such, that the position of those embrazures could only be known by the fire of the artillery; and that the transient flashes which issued from the guns, could not afford time for deliberate aim. The battery was well defended; and close under the muzzles of the guns the assailants received a discharge of grape shot; miraculously escaping with the loss of one man only. The remains of the forlorn hope, under Oswald,‖ now joined Lamb's company; and the whole force mounting the parapet, they carried the place with the bayonet, taking the captain of the guard and the garrison prisoners.¶

An hour now elapsed since the first fire was opened from the walls and the battery; and it beginning to grow lighter, the invaders who were pressing on to the second barrier, were exposed to a galling fire from the walls of the city, which constantly thinned their ranks; but as each brave fel-

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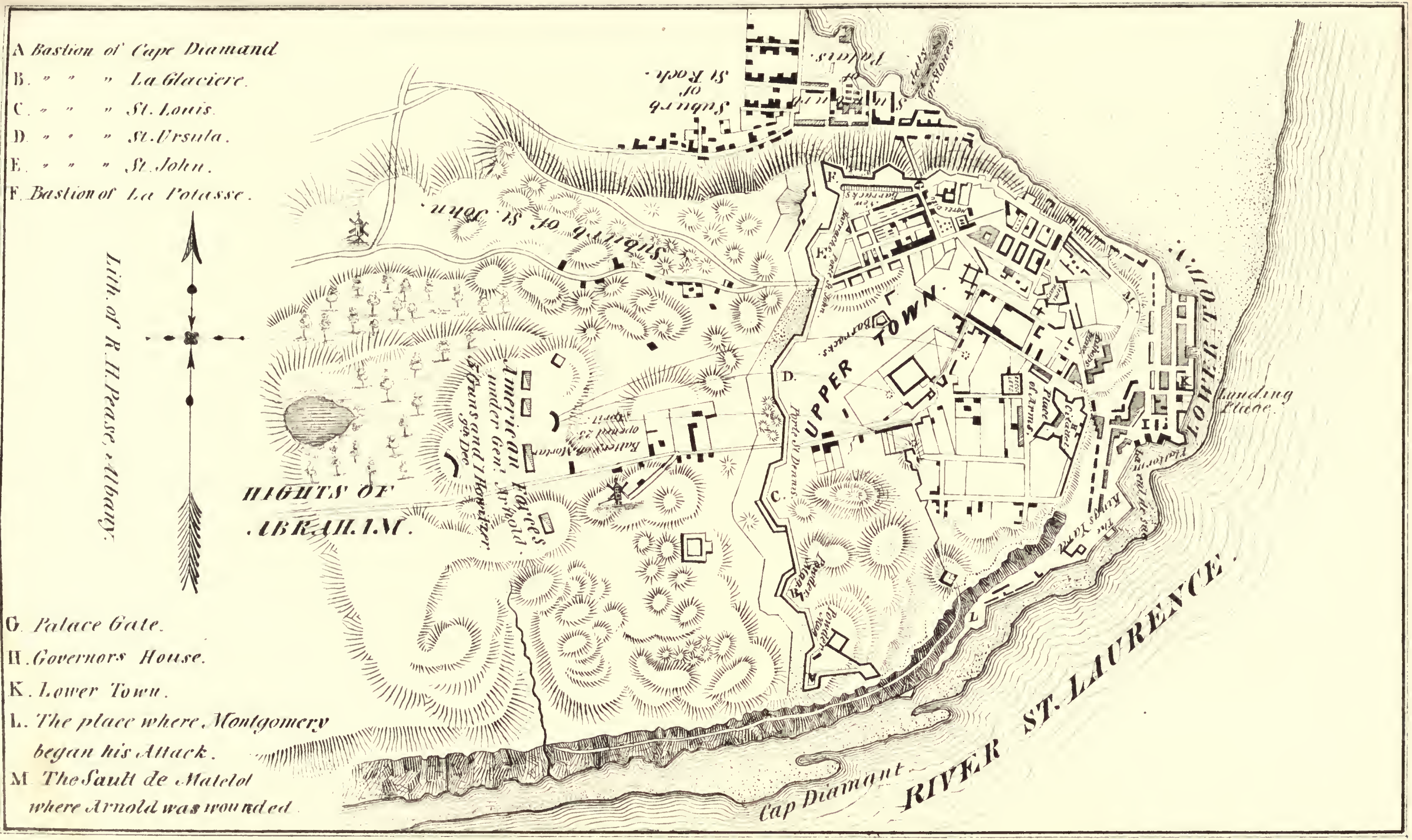
* Family tradition. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Marshall.
‖ Family tradition. ¶ Holt's paper.



Lith. of R. H. Pease, Albany.

low fell, if any life remained in him, he cheered on his comrades to the attack.* The second barrier was soon reached and assaulted with great resolution. The defence was a brave one, and the enemy maintained it as long as possible; but all advancing to the charge, the defenders broke from their guns, and the battery was gained: one of the gunners, more resolute than the rest, ran back, linstock in hand, to give the last shot.† Captain Lamb, within a few yards distance, discovered him as he advanced, and twice snapped his fusee at him as he made the attempt; but the priming being wetted with the snow, failed to explode; and in the act of priming for the third effort, the cannon was discharged.‡ A grape shot hit Lamb on the left cheek, near the eye, and carried away part of the bone; the force of the blow and the concussion of the shot, stunned him, and threw him senseless upon the snow. Some of his faithful fellows carried him into a cooper's shop near at hand, and laid him upon a pile of shavings, still insensible.

The principal defences of the town were carried, and the victorious vanguard, unsupported by the main body (except some few who under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Greene and Majors Meigs and Bigelow had pushed on to the first barrier), were prepared to advance into the town; when the garrison recovering from their consternation, and relieved of their fears by the retreat of Campbell; sallied in force from the Palace gate,|| and cut off the advanced party. The main body retreated to camp, leaving behind the field-piece, which had been abandoned as useless by the stormers, and the mortars in the battery at St. Roques.¶ A charge was made by the garrison, and some of the officers and men, who had not passed the first barrier, were taken prisoners.** Meanwhile, news had arrived of the death of Montgomery, and of the defeat of the other detachment. The advance was hemmed in on all sides. To cut their way through was impracticable,

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* Family tradition † Idem. ‡ Idem.

|| American Archives. ¶ Holt's paper. **Marshall.

as they would have been exposed to a flanking fire of the whole garrison who manned the walls, while they were engaged with the party which had intercepted their retreat in front. They therefore threw themselves into a stone house near Limeburner's wharf and resolved to make good their defence. This was difficult, as their pieces were so much disabled by the wet, that not one in ten would give fire.* Cannon were now brought up from the St. Charles side, and prepared to play upon the house, and Morgan, finding hope of relief unavailing, after having been in action for three hours, reluctantly surrendered.†

In searching for the dead and wounded, Capt. Lamb was found where he had been left; still without consciousness, benumbed with cold, and loss of blood. A surgeon, after examination, pronounced him yet alive, and made preparations to restore him to animation. While thus engaged, a Scott's commissary, who had been in service in New York,‡ who had known Captain Lamb, and was familiar with some of the the exploits attributed to him, exclaimed to the surgeon that he had better let him die; as a person so obnoxious to the King's vengeance, would assuredly be tried and convicted for his manifold offences; and that it would be a kind of charity, thus to save him from the gallows. The surgeon rejected the humane suggestion, and having revived him, his patient was carried to the convent of the nuns of the order of Mercy, then the temporary hospital; not however, without being plundered of his shoes and buckles, by some of the underlings; and without shoes, supported by two men, he was assisted over the paved court, covered with snow, and put to bed in that condition in his wet garments.

These circumstances, together with previous exposure, brought on next day a severe fit of the gout; which greatly added to the pain of his wound, and protracted his cure. While in this state, he was visited by the officious commissary, who exhausted his rhetoric in the same arguments which he had held to the surgeon. He told him of Allen's having been sent home in irons to be tried; that his fate would be no less severe and certain; and that the King would never pardon so attrocious a rebel. These follies might have annoyed a man less resolute than Captain Lamb; but he contented himself with assuring his Caledonian adviser, that if his Majesty should wreak such vengeance on him, that Washington would retaliate, by awarding the same fate to as good a man as he was; and that he had fortunately assisted to place such a one in his hands, by his services at St. Johns.

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* Marshall.

† American Archives.

‡ Family tradition.

The Commissary was not far wrong in his conclusions. Governor Carleton seriously meditated such proceeding against his prisoner, for having surprised the magazine at Turtle Bay;* or in loyal parlance, robbed the King's stores. Preparations were made to send him out in the Diana frigate, which was to depart on the opening of the river; and even before he was convalescent, an officer of rank communicated to him the Governor's designs, and magnified the danger to which he was exposed. Capt. Lamb in reply, bade him assure his Excellency, that in the cause of his country he was able to endure more than he could possibly inflict. And if measures were carried to the last extremity against him, he was well assured, that Congress would direct ample retribution.† In this he was not mistaken; for upon a knowledge of Carleton's determination, that functionary was informed from authentic sources, that whatever rigors were imposed upon his prisoner by him, would be retaliated to the utmost, upon the officers taken at St. Johns.

For a long time, the wound of Captain Lamb continued painful, and dangerous; and it was found difficult to give him a any nourishment, except by pressing open his mouth and administering liquid aliments; and this inconvenience existed to the day of his death. At first it was supposed that the eye was not permanently injured; but these hopes proved fallacious, and it was soon found that the sight was totally destroyed. After a fortnight had elapsed, the surgeon who had hastily dressed the wound, informed his patient, that if he would hazard the danger and endure the pain of a second operation, the rigidity of the jaw might be in some degree relaxed. And at least, the scar might be rendered less conspicuous. To this, Captain Lamb consented, and the operation, so far as regarded the cicatrice, was tolerably successful, but the greater evil was but partially remedied.

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* Family tradition. † Idem.

CHAPTER IX.

Enterprise fails by Irresolution of Campbell.—Lamb promoted.—Quebec Horologer.—Prisoners in the Seminary.—Plan Escape.—Discovered and Plan abandoned.—Some of the Privates enlist.—Reproved by Lamb and Steele.—Maclean's Letter.—Treatment of the Prisoners —Blockade continued.—Distresses of Invaders.—Confidence of the Canadians declines.—Detachment from the Town defeated.—Arrival of Wooster.—Thomas.—River opens.—Sortie of Carleton.—Retreat of the Americans.—Affair of the Cedars—of Three Rivers.

The disastrous termination of this storm was deeply deplored, and its consequences were productive of the entire ruin of the campaign. The brave party which had actually taken the place, and properly sustained, would have held it, were left entirely without support; nor was any movement made to create a diversion in their favor. The incapable Campbell, who still, in consequence of Arnold's wound, assumed command, in his letter to General Wooster, talked of an enterprise to relieve them *after dark;*[*] as if by miracle, a handful of men, could in a house with no defences, resist five times their number, (provided with competent artillery,) for a whole day. It is certain, that if he had conquered the momentary panic, if, indeed, any such existed, after the fall of Montgomery, and shewed sufficient courage and conduct in persisting in the assault, the whole of Arnold's detachment would have made a lodgement in the town, and the Governor, between two fires, and with a disaffected population, would have been compelled to surrender. But so far was he from acting the part of a judicious leader, and keeping the division, the command of which he had usurped, in action, that he not only ordered a retreat, but sent word to the detachment on the other side of the town, of the disasters which had occurred, and of the cessation of the assault on his part.[†]

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[*] American Archives.

[†] American Archives, Holt's paper.

Those, therefore, who had not penetrated beyond the Palace gate, fell back; and the British troops in the sortie from the gate, meeting no obstacle, after having driven off the support upon which they relied, took a position which effectually cut off the retreat of the party which had penetrated into the place.

The unfortunate victims of this conduct of Campbell, anathematized him for his cowardice in unmitigated terms,* and all ascribed to him, the failure of an expedition well planned, and which certainly on their part, had been efficiently executed; the frustration of which, was the cause of their captivity and their subsequent misfortunes. The sufferings of Capt. Lamb, were somewhat alleviated by the receipt of a commission, elevating him to the rank of Major; and appointing him to the command of the artillery of the northern department. This promotion was exceedingly gratifying to him, especially as it was accompanied by a resolve of Congress, approving of his past services, in the following words:

"*Resolved,* That Capt. Lamb be appointed Commander of the Artillery in the Northern Department, with the rank of Major; and that he be allowed fifty dollars per month, from the first day of the present month, as a reward for his activity, and spirited conduct, in the last campaign."†

He was also appointed to the regiment of artillery, commanded by Col. Knox; and Washington, in a letter from Cambridge, thus announces the appointment to Gen. Schuyler. "Capt. Lamb is appointed second Major in the regiment of artillery, commanded by Col. Henry Knox. This promotion I thought due to his merit and bravery."‡

For these promotions, he was doubtless indebted without knowing it, to the representations of Gen. Schuyler, in July, 1775, and afterwards reiterated at the suggestion of Montgomery. This increase of rank, however, aggravated the

* Family tradition.

† Jour. of Cong., v. ii, p. 17, Jan. 9, 1776.

‡ American Archives.

tediousness of captivity; as he was exceedingly anxious to serve his country in that more extended sphere, which this commission entitled him to assume.

As soon as he became convalescent, his first inquiry was after the expert director of the gun, which had given him so much trouble, in order to cultivate his acquaintance. He found that this piece had been in charge of a clock-maker of eminence in the town, who in his expertness, had sufficiently proved that his talents as an engineer, were of no mean rank, whatever might have been his skill in horology.* After being discharged from the hospital, Maj. Lamb joined the party of officers confined in the seminary,† who had every indulgence from the Governor, which they could reasonably expect. Still confinement was irksome, and they formed a scheme to escape.‡ By the aid of some friendly citizens, they had opened a communication with our troops without; and had digested a plan. This plan was communicated to Gov. Carleton, who took his measures accordingly. No notice was given to the prisoners, that their design had been disclosed; but every avenue of escape was secured, and the garrison so disposed, that the effort would have been rendered fruitless to all, and utterly destructive of the greater part. Thus in a false security,§ the prisoners awaited the signal: fortunately, an honest baker, who had supplied them, had acquired a knowledge of the preparation of the garrison; and stationing himself beneath one of the windows of the prison, attracted the notice of those within. To these he made known that their plot had been betrayed to the Governor, and the measures taken to destroy them, in the attempt to carry it into effect.||

How far this scheme of punishing in so sanguinary a manner, a very natural effort on the part of the prisoners to set themselves at liberty, squares with the character of the Governor for humanity on other occasions, it would be difficult to decide; and certainly, the premeditated destruction of so many brave men, whose escape might have been prevented, with safety to the garrison, without this wholesale slaughter; wants an excuse beyond the ordinary suggestions of self preservation.

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* Family tradition. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem. || Idem.

Of the detachment of Lamb's company, who had followed him to the storm, many were natives of the mother country, and threats, and blandishments were profusely used, to induce them to enlist in the British regiments.* The bravery which these good fellows had displayed, was a strong inducement to obtain their service, and no art was left untried, to coax or threaten them into enlistment. Thirteen of those who were taken yielded, and took service under the Royal flag;† though four of these did so, to enable them to get a chance for escape, and to join their old standard, which they did soon afterwards.‡ Some of the prisoners of the other companies also had been won by similar inducements, and when it became known to the officers, they expressed their disapprobation. Maj. Lamb, and Lieut. Steele, of the Pennsylvania Riflemen, were more violent and vociferous in their denunciation of these backsliders, than any others;§ and in their vehemence in behalf of the cause which they had espoused, probably lost sight of the bounds of strict prudence, in the language used on the occasion. This was deemed so offensive, that Col. Maclean was instructed to write them the following letter:

QUEBEC, January 30, 1776.

Gentlemen:

Gen. Carleton is very much surprised to hear, that you make use of improper language, respecting the unfortunate disputes between the Mother Country and her Colonies; particularly, your upbraiding some of the poor, unfortunate deluded people, who were taken prisoners with you, on the 31st December, in finding fault with their conduct, for their having now engaged to serve their King and Country.

I will venture to say, that it will give Gen. Carleton, and those under his command, great pleasure to show you all the marks of good nature, and humanity, that the situation of the garrison will admit of; but it will be out of his power to do that, if you, gentlemen, shall persist in holding a language, that is both indecent, and improper, in your present situation. It is also desired, that you will not be holding any conversation with the guard or sentries set over you, as it can answer no good end to you, and may be of bad consequences.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servant,
Allan Maclean.*

To Messrs. Lamb, and Steele.

It is probable that the rhetorical powers of both these gentlemen, were not again exercised, to the annoyance of the Governor. The mischief had been done; farther objurgation, was neither necessary or prudent, and the Governor being content with expressing his displeasure through Col. Maclean, took no farther notice of the affair, and made no discrimination between them and the others. The whole conduct of that officer, (if his silence on discovering the design to escape, be not an exception), was marked by great humanity, and kindness. The heroic daring displayed during the assault of the lower town, won his admiration and regard; and he took pleasure in administering to the comforts of men, who had exhibited those qualifications, which never fail to command the respect of a veteran soldier. The French inhabitants of the town, were favorably disposed towards the American cause, and did what they could, and were permitted to do, to soften the sorrows, and amuse the minds of the prisoners. The Bishop of Quebec sent them books, for their more sedate hours, and a supply of playing cards for their lighter amusements. Yet still the " bitter draught" of captivity brought with it, its usual concomitants. Discontents, murmurings, querulous complaints, and even bickerings between officers of different corps. Maj. Meigs, in allusion to some of these, in a letter to Lamb, after his return says, " I believe that nothing under Heaven, ruins the mind of man, equal to long and severe imprisonment."

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

But if such be the general effects of captivity, there are many exceptions: for on this occasion, Maj. Lamb formed some ardent friendships, which endured to the last of his life. At Quebec, he first met Arnold, who, in courage and daring, was a kindred spirit; side by side with him, and with his accomplished comrade Oswald, with Morgan, Greene, Thayer, Heth, Meigs, Febiger, Porterfield, and Steele, he had done and witnessed deeds which had endeared them to him forever, and which had excited corresponding emotions in them; and with these, until the monstrous derilection of the first; and the death of some of the others dissolved it, he continued to cherish to the day of his death, this friendship formed in severe adversity.*

The failure of the attack on Quebec began now to be felt in all its consequences. Arnold still continued the blockade, but with a force not able to maintain it, had Carleton pushed a sortie from the garrison, which doubled the number of the effective men of the blockade. These were ill supplied with necessaries. The military chest being exhausted, and the credit of the Colonies, which had been freely used at Montreal by Montgomery, was no longer available. Resort was therefore had to the issue of the paper currency supplied by

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* There was a galaxy of brave spirits at Quebec, and most of them rose to eminence in the service. The fame of Morgan is universal; Greene acquired great reputation at the defence of Red Bank, on the Delaware, and was killed near the Croton, in 1781; Thayer immortalized himself, by sustaining the defence of Fort Mifflin, after Col. Smith was disabled; Meigs led a successful expedition against Sag Harbor, in 1777, and was at the head of his regiment at the storm of Stoney Point, under Wayne. Febiger was a foreign officer, and held a sub-altern's commission in the Danish service; after his exchange, he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the 11th Virginia regiment, and led it at the assault of Stoney Point; Porterfield, like Febiger, was a volunteer, and after his exchange, raised a company at his own expense, and was commissioned in the Virginia line; in leading a regiment, of which he was Lieut.-Colonel Commandent, he was killed at the battle of Camden; Heth was an officer of distinction, and kept a journal of the events of the war, which has been of use to Marshall, and many other historians. Neither Thayer, or Steele, were correspondents of Lamb, and of their career the writer is uninformed.

Congress, and the circulation was extended as far as possible, and to the disgust of the Canadian population.

If any reinforcements reached the camp, the relief was ineffectual; and the constantly expiring engagements of the men, who were not backward in claiming their discharge as soon as they were entitled to it, thinned his ranks of serviceable men, to replace them with raw and undisciplined levies. Disease also did its share to weaken the invaders. But the most fatal effect of the disasters of the thirty-first December, was the loss of confidence, which it occasioned in the Canadian inhabitants, in regard to the ultimate success of the invasion. This would have been otherwise, if secure within the walls of Quebec, and well supported, as in that event they probably would have been, by an army competent to keep possession of the province, the Americans had seemed in a situation to protect their allies for the past, and to secure them from the consequences of future delinquencies. But the reverse of the case was so apparent, that their zeal in the cause of the invaders was hourly on the decline; and the *Bostonois*, whom the Canadian peasantry had looked upon as friends and deliverers, began to be viewed as intruders. Even the Seigneurs themselves, could not help considering them as dangerous connections, and began to despair in their hopes and expectations of benefit from the invasion.

Gov. Carleton was well aware of the combined causes of the weakness of his adversaries, and of the inevitable consequences which would result from them; and therefore contented himself with inactivity within the walls; trusting to the elements of dissolution which were wasting the army of the Colonies, as effectual means of raising the seige. A small detachment was indeed sent from the garrison, to give countenance to an insurrection of the friendly Canadians on the other side of the river, and it crossed over to the south side, to beat up the American station there.* But the vigilance and activity of Arnold, defeated this scheme. He surprised and routed them, taking several prisoners.* To make show of activity, rather than with the hope of any serious advantage with such incompetent artillery, Arnold repaired his batteries, and commenced a fire upon the town; but the best part of his artillerists had been taken prisoners, and very little effect took place from the shot or shells expended on the occasion.

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* Marshall.

Gen. Wooster arrived from Montreal on the 1st April, and Arnold, who the day after his arrival was disabled by the falling of his horse;† as soon as he was in condition to march, returned to Montreal, and took the command of that place.‡ A fortnight had not elapsed, before Wooster, on the 15th April, was superseded in command by the arrival of Gen. Thomas. The mouth of the St. Lawrence was now clear of ice, and symptoms of the breaking up of the river began to manifest themselves. Reinforcements from England were below, and Gen. Carleton resolved on active operations. He sallied from the town at the head of one thousand men, and the Americans being too feeble to resist him, on the 6th May, 1776, retired towards Montreal, leaving the sick and the stores of the army behind them.§ Disasters seemed to crowd upon the provincial forces. Col. Bedel, who had been stationed at the Cedars, forty miles above Montreal, with four hundred men and two pieces of artillery, having notice that a company of regulars, and a large force of Indians meditated an attack upon him; instead of sending a messenger to Arnold for reinforcements, and defending his post in person; thought proper to be himself the messenger; leaving a most incompetent substitute in command.|| This cowardly officer, intimidated by threats of massacre by the Indians, although he had sufficient force and means of destroying the assailants, surrendered without firing a gun:¶ and a reinforcement of one hundred men, despatched by Arnold in advance, while he followed in person with a larger

* Marshall. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem. || Idem. ¶ Idem.

force, was attacked on the route, and compelled to surrender. Another unfortunate affair occurred at Three Rivers, where Gen. Thompson, with Col. Irvin and two hundred men, were taken.* These two losses threw a heavy balance of prisoners in favor of the enemy, and diminished the prospect of the speedy exchange of those who were taken at the storm; who after the retreat of Thomas, no longer enjoyed the comfortable thought that their friends were near them: and deprived of the cheering influence of their proximity, "stone walls and iron bars" became indeed a dungeon to them.

While Arnold was playing upon the town, the voice of his artillery was music to their ears; and whenever a shell burst within the walls, though an unwelcome visitor to all others, and might even threaten destruction to them, the dangerous missile was hailed as a messenger of joy. Now all was silent in that quarter; and the pouring in of reinforcements to the garrison, at the opening of the river, gave a death blow to all hope of release for themselves, and created great fears for the safety of the whole Provincial army.

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* Marshall.

CHAPTER X.

Prisoners apply for Release on Parole.—Negociation.—Effected by interposition of Foreign Officers.—Arrival in Bay of New York.—The Great Fire.—Lamb reports himself at Head Quarters.—To Congress.—Promoted.—Ordered to raise a Regiment.—Oswald, Lieut.-Colonel.—Officers from New Haven — Other Parts of Connecticut.—Sons of Liberty.—Mott.—Wiley.—Robert Troup.—General Knox.—Paul Revere.—Sears.—Major Ebenezer Stevens.

Some of the officers had applied for and obtained permission to return home on parole, and had taken their departure. The remainder resolved to ask similar indulgence, which was done in the following letter to the Governor:

May it please your Excellency:

Impressed with a just sense of your Excellency's humanity and benevolence, and urged by the peculiarity of our present disagreeable situation, being destitute of friends and money; we beg leave to request, that your Excellency will condescend to take our case into consideration; and grant us relief, by permitting us to return to our respective homes on parole, which we shall ever deem sacred; assuring your Excellency, that we shall make it a point to surrender ourselves to such of His Majesty's officers, when and where your Excellency may think proper to direct; unless we should be released from our parole by an exchange of prisoners; should such an event take place, we entreat your Excellency that we may be included.

Being likewise sensibly touched with the deplorable state of our men, who remain prisoners at present; we take the liberty to recommend them to your Excellency's consideration; earnestly soliciting that some measures may be taken for their relief. And we should be extremely happy if they could possibly return to their families, many of whom, must be reduced to the greatest distress.

Your Excellency's compliance will be esteemed a singular favor, and ever gratefully acknowledged, by

Your Excellency's most obedient
and very humble servants,
Christopher Greene,
John Lamb,
And thirty-three others.

Seminary, Quebec, 7th June, 1776.*

The Governor objected to the closing sentence of the first paragraph, relating to the possibility of being exchanged, and sent the letter back to be altered. This was done, and the form of the parole to be exacted of them was given. The word "hereafter" was used in such context with the other parts respecting future service, that the prisoners thought a forced construction might preclude them from again taking up arms; particularly as the sentence in their application, having special reference to the right of future action in case of exchange, had been expunged; they, therefore, begged that the word might be omitted. The Governor declined to vary the parole, alleging that Major Meigs and Captain Dearborn had signed similar pledges; and an alteration in the present case, might be the means of creating invidious remarks, prejudicial to those officers.† But the matter was so strongly urged, that through the kind influence of Colonel Foy, the deputy adjutant-general, the request was complied with,‡ on the 2d August; and with joyful hearts, the parole being given, the prisoners, after six months dreary confinement, prepared to revisit their homes.

Option being given them as to the point of debarkation in America, Boston, or a point as nearly in its vicinity as circumstances would warrant, was the place chosen. On the

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

‡ Their release on parole and subsequent exchange, were much accelerated by the foreign officers in the British service; who, being liable to capture by the Americans, were anxious to establish facilities of which they might, in the casualties of war, be compelled to avail themselves.

— day of August, Major Lamb, his second lieutenant, Andrew Moodie, and fifteen of his trusty followers, embarked on board a transport; but the passage was long and tedious, and the destination being changed from Boston to New York, it was not until the twentieth of September, that the vessels arrived on the Jersey coast.* On board some of the transports, the "insolence of office" of the cockney skippers had severely tried the patience of those who had been subjected to its influence; but Major Lamb and his comrades had the good fortune to meet with a very humane and considerate commander; and this conciliatory conduct stood him in good stead, for the length of the passage had exhausted his stores and those of the fleet; but owing to the favorable report of his passengers, he was liberally supplied by the patriotic Jerseymen, at the cheapest rates, while his less humane countrymen, met with usage commensurate with their churlishness; and if supplied at all, were made to pay in extortionate prices, the penalty of their brutality.†

The ship arrived in the bay, on the 23d September, while the great fire was raging in New York; and as the flames cast their broad light over the water, Major Lamb paced the quarter-deck, rubbing his hands in ecstasy and exclaiming, a glorious sight! The master of the vessel was much surprised at these manifestations of joy, where he expected a different sentiment; and expressed his astonishment, that any person could rejoice at the conflagration of his native city; particularly, one whose chief property lay within reach of the destruction. Let the whole perish, was the reply, rather than the city should afford quarters to the enemy, and a point from which our armies can be most annoyed. As soon as he landed in New Jersey, he was fortunate enough to meet an old customer who owed him two hundred pounds. This the debtor was not only willing to pay, but having a larger sum with him, and in the unsettled state of the times, fearful of being plundered, he persuaded Major Lamb to take it on loan. From these sources, he was enabled to supply the exigencies of his brother officers, and to furnish his soldiers with the means of reaching their several homes.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Family tradition.

Immediately on landing, he repaired to General Washington's army at Kingsbridge, and reported himself; soliciting the influence of the Commander-in-Chief with Congress, to hasten his exchange. He then joined his family at Stratford in Connecticut, to which place they had removed on the evacuation of the city, and tenanted the house of an old friend and fellow soldier, Robert Walker. He gave himself few moments of repose in the bosom of his family; for anxious to be released from his parole, and burning with desire to join the army now removed to White Plains, and in momentary expectation of a battle, he on the 25th November addressed the following memorial to Congress, to urge on if possible the desired event, which would enable him to share in the conflicts which were approaching:

To the Honorable Congress of the United States of America.

Gentlemen:

Altho' the Enemy have, contrary to my expectations, liberated me from the dreary Horrours of a Prison, and suffered me to return to my family and friends, I am still subject to their power and controul; liable to be called upon by them to surrender myself a prisoner whenever they please; and restrained by the sacred ties of honour from drawing my sword again in defence of my country 'till exchanged for some officer of theirs. Extremely anxious to be relieved from this truly painful and disagreeable situation, I waited on General Washington immediately after my arrival from Quebec, earnestly soliciting his interest with your Honours for that purpose. But as I have not yet heard that such an event has taken place, owing I imagine to the critical situation of the two armies; I take the liberty to address your Honours on that subject, humbly requesting that I may be included in the next exchange of Prisoners. And as I have unfortunately been prevented by the Fate of War from taking up arms again this campaign, in support of the Freedom and Independence of the American States; and being conscious of having done no more than my duty in my former exertions for the public good, I can have no claim to your Honours' particular attention. Yet as I have been formerly honored with your approbation of my conduct, and a singular mark of your confidence, by an appointment to the Chief Command of the Artillery in the Northern Department; I flatter myself that I have not been neglected by your Honours in the new arrangement of the Corps of Artillery.

I have the honor to be,
With every sentiment of Gratitude,
Duty and Respect,
Gentlemen,
Your Most Obedient
and very Humble Servant,
JOHN LAMB.*

Congress took notice of this memorial, as will appear by the following extract from their journals:

"FRIDAY, NOV. 29, 1776.

"A petition from Major John Lamb was read: Whereupon *Resolved,* That the General be directed to include Major Lamb, in the next exchange of Prisoners."—*Jour. Cong., vol.* 2, *page* 479.

Thus secure of the influence of the representatives of the nation, he returned to Stratford to content himself as best he could, with his present inaction. His heart was however with the army, and with his compatriots in that disastrous campaign; which seemed utterly fatal to the patriot cause, until it was redeemed by the heroic achievement of Washington at Trenton, on the 25th December.

Scarce had the news of this victory reached him, when he received the following letter, written by the order of Washington, on the scene of his glory, as he was preparing for another harvest of laurels, on the field of Princeton:

TRENTON, Jan'y 2, 1776, [1777.]

Sir: I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that Gen. Howe has consented to your exchange, and sent out the parole which you gave Gen. Carleton. His Excellency, Gen. Washington, wishes to provide for you in proportion to your great merits, and wishes to see you as soon as possible.

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* Lamb papers.

I am Sir with
esteem, your most
ob & hble serv't,
H. Knox,
Commanding the
Artillery of the U. States.*

Major Lamb.

Agreeably to this mandate, Maj. Lamb hastened to join the army at Morristown, to which place, after the affair at Princeton, it had removed; and had the gratification of receiving a commission from Congress, appointing him Lieut.-Colonel, Commandant of Artillery, which was afterwards changed to a full colonelcy. He soon received his instructions from Gen. Knox, dated 22d January, 1777, and was vested with power to appoint under him, one major, six captains, and twenty-five subalterns, subject to the negative of the Commander-in-Chief.

There is good reason to believe that Gen. Arnold, who was at head quarters, a short time before the battle of Princeton, sustained to the uttermost, Maj. Lamb's application for exchange, and his appointment to immediate service. No man was a better judge of military merit; and the evidence of the necessary qualification for command, which he had witnessed during the siege of Quebec, and the gallant bearing of Maj. Lamb, on the morning of the storm, ensured his influence at head-quarters. He also did his best to promote the wishes and the interests of his friend, and Secretary Oswald, who led the forlorn hope at Quebec, after the Commander was disabled; and Col. Lamb was much gratified at the assignment of that brave and capable officer to his regiment, as Lieut.-Colonel.†

The regiment was to be recruited in Connecticut, and the principal part of the officers, within his appointment, were selected from that state, and quite a number from New Haven, the residence of Arnold.*

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Lamb papers.

Samuel Mansfield, the brother of the deceased wife of the General, was made a captain; John R. Throop, who had married a sister of Mrs. Arnold, received a subaltern's commission, as did Stephen Alling, John Miles, Peter Woodward, and Timothy Mix, all of New Haven. Samuel Webb, father of one of the editors of the Courier and Enquirer, afterwards a member of the military family of the Commander-in-Chief; and Caleb Brewster, an active officer, entrusted with secret intercourse with Long Island, and commander of a successful enterprise, in which an armed vessel of the enemy was captured on the Sound; together with Samuel Lockwood, of Stamford, who had done excellent service in capturing the fleet of Carleton, at Sorel, and who was taken at the storm of Quebec, were among the selections from Connecticut.†

Col. Lamb was ever ready to secure the services of men who had proved themselves true in times of peril. Gershom Mott was one of the associated Sons of Liberty, and was with Lamb on the important Committees of 1765, and 1774; posts which none coveted, who were not brave enough to encounter the hazardous duties assigned them. This gentleman had been a captain in the first, or McDougall's regiment, in service in the Northern Campaign, and was at Quebec until the retreat in April, 1777; he had claims to promotion, but was disappointed in the reorganization of the regiments, and accepted the offer of a company under Col. Lamb.‡ Nor was he less mindful of his former associates in the field of battle. Isaiah Wool, who had remained in command of his company after his capture; and Andrew Moodie, his lieutenant, taken with him at Quebec, each received a captaincy; and Joseph Ashton, his first sergeant, and Peter Nestle, a matross, both prisoners with him, at the same place, were made subalterns.§ Nestle had been one of those who had taken service with Gov. Carleton, at Quebec, and had received with others, the severe reprobation of his former captain; but the faithful fellow was only practising a ruse, in order to escape, and join the company at Montreal; which he did, and served with fidelity and zeal until he was discharged; nor had Col. Lamb any occasion to blush for the officers of his selection, for all performed good service to the country.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

Another of his tried associates was John Wiley,* to whom he offered a captain's commission, and for some time kept it at his disposal, in hope certain domestic arrangements might be satisfactorily adjusted, so as to enable him to accept it. The estimation in which that gentleman was held by his friends, was such, that many young officers were desirous of serving under him; and Robert Troup, who had been appointed by Gen. Knox, a captain-lieutenant in Lamb's regiment, and had relinquished his service in Col. Livingston's regiment, in order to join it; wrote to Col. Lamb requesting as a particular favor, that he might be assigned to the company of Capt. Wiley;† but in consequence of his declension, Mr. Troup was arranged into another company, where he continued, until his appointment on the staff of Gen. Gates shortly after.‡

In obedience of the orders of General Knox, Colonel Lamb proceeded to Fishkill, on the 10th April, where he remained

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[*] Grandfather of John Wiley, bookseller, of Broadway. This gentleman was distinguished for his patriotism and intrepidity, and was foremost among those, who, after the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed in the city, tore down, in open day, the leaden statue of George the Third, from its pedestal in the Bowling Green.

In 1781, Doctor Halstead, the brother-in-law of Maj. Wiley, was taken from his residence, at Elizabethtown, by a marauding party of the British, and confined in the city prison, under Cunningham. As soon as Maj. Wiley was made acquainted with this capture, he gave notice to some of the leading friends of the British, in New Jersey, that if his brother was not immediately released, he would retaliate upon them, and send them to the camp as hostages. The threat was effectual, and the prisoners, who had been in close confinement, on bread and water, were liberated.—*Papers N. Y. His. Soc.*

[†] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. [‡] Idem.

for some time, arranging the affairs of his regiment. The intercourse consequent upon this official consultation, was productive of warm and confidential friendship between the parties; and General Knox found his subordinate possessed of a knowledge of details and practice in his department, of which he did not scruple to avail himself, and he was indebted to Colonel Lamb for recommending * and forwarding to him some useful works, which had not, until then, met his observation. From that time, until the close of the campaign of 1781, all the communications which passed between them, lost in some degree their official character, and assumed the guise of friendly intercourse, between minds, which congenial sentiments and pursuits, had brought to close affinity.

When Colonel Lamb reached home, after this visit, he caused his family to be removed from Stratford to Southington, a town twenty-two miles inland, and north of New Haven ; while Lieutenant-Colonel Oswald was stationed at the latter place, with such recruits as he had been enabled to collect. Immediately after receiving his orders to recruit, and even before he had obtained the necessary funds from the government; Colonel Lamb racked his own credit, and that of his friends, to obtain money to fill up his companies. Hearing that men might be raised at the eastward, and that a very accomplished musician might be obtained at Providence; Colonel Oswald was dispatched to secure this man, and to forward the enlistments. Arriving at Providence, on the 16th February, Oswald found that the fifer had been recently promoted to a majority in the line of the army, and consequently, as he wrote, " above that business."† Here he fell in with General Arnold, on the road to Boston; who, upon being made acquainted of the failure of the government to furnish funds for enlistment, offered the loan of one thousand pounds; and sent to Colonel Lamb an order on his sister Hannah, who had taken charge of his family after the death

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

of his wife. This was accepted, and that excellent and patriotic woman, advanced with alacrity, the money, which was to be so worthily expended.*

At this time, he received a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Paul Revere, one of his old and valued associates of 1765 and 1774, who had been the confidential messenger from the Boston Committees to their friends abroad; in which he mentions others of the fraternity in the following terms: "Pray tell good Mr. Holt, it is not in my power to procure him a journeyman. Friend SEARS is here, a very merchant; in short, I find but few of the Sons of Liberty in the army."*

After Oswald's return from the eastward, Colonel Lamb, on the 7th April, joined his family at Southington, leaving the affairs of the regiment to his lieutenant. The filling of this, was not so speedily accomplished as he had expected. For three companies, which had been enlisted in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, by Major Ebenezer Stevens, were at first considered as belonging to him;† and it was not until after the march of that officer to Ticonderoga, at the head of these men, that he was undeceived on that subject.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem.

CHAPTER XI.

Tryon's first Invasion of Connecticut.—Lands at Cedar Point.—Burns Danbury.—Retreat.—Death of Wooster.—Arnold at Ridgefield.—At Saugatuck River.—Battle at Ridgefield and Compo.—Lamb at Compo.—Attempt to Storm Field Pieces.—Wounded.—Hospital.—Fortitude of Travis, a young Militia Officer.—1777.

The removal from Stratford to Southington, was fortunate for the family of Colonel Lamb, as they escaped the dangers of Tryon's invasion.

For several days, the armament which he commanded, was seen in the Sound, and the inhabitants of every accessible point supposed themselve to be the objects of attack. At length, with a heavy force of ships, and two thousand men, the ex-governor of New York, who had accepted the commission of Major General of Provincials, reached Cedar Point, four or five miles eastward of Norwalk on the 25th April, and debarking his forces on the neighboring beach, he prepared to march for Danbury, a distance of twenty-three miles.

One of the ships of war, in coming into the bay, struck on a ledge of rocks off Raymond's Point. The pilot on board was a refugee tory, and the commander of the ship was about to order him hanged at the yard arm; but as he had the good luck to show from the charts on board, that such a reef was not laid down on any of them, and that it was till then unknown, he was let off. He had, however, the infamous distinction of giving a name to the place, which is called Tory Reef, to this day.

As the troops were debarking, a crowd was discovered about a house near the line of march which they intended to adopt, and several cannon shot were directed to that point, one of which striking the house,* the people near it dispersed. Some few scattering shots were fired at the inva-

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* This house, which was made a temporary hospital after the retreat of the British, was situated on what was long known as the Hazard farm; some years since the property of Judge John Q. Wilson, late of Fairfield county, Connecticut; whose father attended the wounded, as surgeon, after the retreat of the British. It was in early youth, the residence of the Hon. James Kent, who has so worthily filled the highest judicial offices of the state. A man, who for his great talents, moral worth, and unsullied honor, is justly the pride, not only of his native state, but that of his adoption.

I am highly indebted to Judge Wilson for many details, and for a diagram of the battle fields, which enable me to correct the published accounts. In addition, he has kindly furnished me an anecdote of Judge Kent, which is worthy of commemoration, and which can not be better done, than by giving it in Judge Wilson's own language:

"His (the Chancellor's) early recollections rested on the farm, and its vicinity; and he often spoke of them, when visiting at our house. In 1832, during the cholera season, in company with Mrs. Kent, he came over from Stratford, where they were staying, to pay us a visit; while sitting on the front piazza, with the beach in full view, among a variety of remembrances, he spoke of the landing of the British, and of the man being killed by a musket ball, fired from the lot bounded by the beach; a distance of three-quarters of a mile; and he seemed surprised, when told that the post behind which the man lay, was still standing, with the bal hole in it, which was pointed out to him, across the creek.

"Well," said he, "now I will tell you of another incident, which you never heard of. (Great as he was in great affairs, he never lost in conversation, the arch simplicity, and cheerfulness of youth.) My mother sent me up stairs, in the old house, that then stood over yonder by the gate, for a gun, and bayonet, that was in the back room near the chimney. They built all the chimneys in those days of stone, in the centre of the house. While I was in search of the gun, there came a cannon ball, from the direction of the beach, in at the south side of the house, between the windows of the second story; it passed through the front room, and entered the chimney, directly opposite to the spot on which I stood. I believe my mother was the most frightened of the two, when she called me down, and we all retreated. I never applied for a pension for *this*, my revolutionary service; but *I have* heard the crash of a cannon ball, and the world, may be, is indebted to that old chimney for Kent's Commentaries."

This occurrence of the ball, had been told me by an old man named Disbrow, who was present at the time; but this was the first that I had ders, by those who were assembled, which being returned, as the column of the enemy advanced, a musket ball, passing

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heard of the escape of the embryo Chancellor. When the old house was taken down, in 1822, I requested Mr. Disbrow, whose son was in my employ, to look for the ball, and the workmen found it buried deep in the stonework of the chimney, a few feet above the chamber floor. It was a nine pound shot, fired probably "*en ricochet*"; as it entered the chimney higher from the floor, than where it came in at the side of the house.

When this ball was shown to the Chancellor, he was deeply moved. It seemed to awaken an impulse of feeling, connected with the memory of his mother, that made him sad. I intended to have had it placed in his carriage at his departure; but his being hurried away, by the appearance of a rising thunder storm, it was forgotten. This was the last visit to my knowledge, that this great, and good man, ever made to the scenes of his childhood. In their details, I have perhaps been more particular than would seem to be necessary; but now, when we have so recently been informed, that his spirit has ascended to a world, the happiness of which, he has ever been so signally fitted to enjoy; every incident of his glorious and useful life, however minute, becomes interesting; and as every thing resting on memory is fading into forgetfulness, I supposed it might not be inappropriate to enable you to perpetuate that which otherwise would soon be entirely lost.

The name of James Kent, requires no laurels to adorn it. His fame will be the rich inheritance of a late posperity, and future ages will not fail to cherish his memory.

I am, with high esteem,
Your friend, and servant,
ALBANY, Dec'r 30. 1847. JOHN Q. WILSON.

Another great man had some share in the dangers of Compo; this was the late Gov. Wolcott, of Connecticut, formerly Secretary of the Treasury, who, at the age of seventeen, was in the battle, when his file leader was shot through the head. This incident is mentioned in the excellent work, compiled by his grandson, George Gibbs, Esq., from the Wolcott papers. "In April, 1777, his studies were broken in upon, by a call to a less peaceful scene than the groves of Yale. He had gone to Litchfield, on a visit to his mother, his father being absent attending Congress, when the news arrived, that a large body of the British, under Tryon, had landed, and marched to Danbury, to destroy the continental stores. Awakened at midnight by the summons to repair to the rendezvous of the militia; he armed himself; and his mother, furnishing his knapsack with provisions, and a blanket, hastened his departure, and dismissed him with the charge "to conduct like a good soldier."—*Administrations of Washington, and Adams, from the Wolcott papers, by George Gibbs.*

through a post, behind which one of the Americans was stationed, entered his head and killed him on the spot.

No serious obstacles to the march could have been made by the few who were collected; but still unwilling to disperse without some show of resistance, they took post behind a stone fence, where the Compo road, passing west of the hill, entered the Boston road. Here, as the advance was about to debouche into the road, a volley was fired, which wounded several of the British, but the column pressing forward, the party was scattered, and the enemy marched without further molestation to Danbury. This place they reached at two o'clock, P. M., on the 26th of April.[*]

A handful of Continentals, then under the command of Colonel Cook, finding resistance useless, retreated, carrying away with them such of the stores, as the suddenness of the attack enabled them to secure. The enemy lost no time in commencing the work of destruction. The houses, stores, and churches were fired; and the provisions and incombustible munitions wasted, and emptied into the streets. On the 26th, the work of devastation was soon effected, and the destroyers made preparations for a return to their ships next morning.

Meanwhile the country was aroused, and Fairfield and the adjoining counties poured forth their minute men. Five hundred of these, under the command of General Silliman of the militia, commenced pursuit, and arrived at Reading, eight miles from Danbury, where he was joined by Generals Wooster and Arnold, who left New Haven immediately on receiving news of the invasion. An hundred men had gathered and joined them on the route; and previous to their departure, Lieutenant-Colonel Oswald of Lamb's regiment, with such of the men of that regiment as had been recruited, with three field pieces, was ordered to march with all expedition to the scene of action.[†]

[*] Barber's Pic. His. Conn.

[†] Idem.

The whole force assembled at Reading, was six hundred men; these, headed by Wooster, took up the march for Danbury, but a heavy rain setting in, which continued all the afternoon, their progress was retarded, and they did not reach Bethel, two miles from the enemy, until eleven o'clock at night, the men much fatigued and their muskets rendered unserviceable by the wet. A halt was as necessary as prudent, and preparations were made to put their arms in a serviceable condition, and to refresh the men. At the dawn of day, Wooster detatched Arnold with four hundred men, to cross the country and take post at Ridgefield, a place which the enemy must necessarily traverse in their retreat, while he with the residue of his men, should attack the flank and rear of the retiring columns.*

The British began their retreat at nine in the morning of the 27th, and as soon as the rear-guard had begun to pass his position, which was upon their left flank, Wooster with his handful of men, not a tenth part of the force he was assailing, began the attack with great spirit and effect. The action was hotly sustained for some time, when the veteran leader, upwards of seventy years old, who well maintained the reputation he had gained in former campaigns, was struck by a musket ball in the groin, and mortally wounded. The loss of their General, together with the appalling disparity of force, dispirited his men, and they retreated in disorder.†

" The check which this movement had given to the retreat of the invaders, enabled Arnold, whose force was now increased to five hundred, to reach his post and choose a favorable position at Ridgefield, on the crown of an eminence at the north end of the town. A house protected his right, while his left was covered by the high bank of the road. From these two points, a breastwork was thrown up for defence. At eleven o'clock the British column was seen advancing with artillery in front and rear, and strong parties on each flank. The firing began from the field pieces of the enemy, which, when within striking distance, was followed up with a heavy discharge of musketry.[‡] These were returned by the Provincials with spirit and alacrity. The action was sustained with great intrepidity for more than an hour, and until their temporary barrier was carried by the enemy, when a retreat was ordered. The rear guard, with Arnold at the head, received a volley of musketry when within a few yards, which did great execution. The General's horse was shot under him, which falling on his knees, the rider still kept the saddle, when, as a soldier was advancing to dispatch him with the bayonet, he drew a pistol from his holster and shot him dead.

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* Barber. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

Joining his retreating forces, and finding farther resistance unavailing; Arnold resolved to retire down the Norwalk road, and to make a stand on the left bank of the Norwalk river, two miles above the bridge, to watch the motions of the enemy, and to cut off his retreat by Norwalk; and if he should endeavor to regain his shipping by the way he had advanced, to intercept him by crossing the Saugatuck bridge and keep him from retreat by the Compo road. The enemy had suffered much in their harrassed retreat, and they encamped for the night, entrenching themselves on a strong position at Ridgefield.[†]

In the course of the afternoon, Oswald, with part of two companies of Lamb's regiment and three field pieces, had joined Arnold on the Norwalk. Another gun, with a company from Fairfield arriving, together with some volunteers, the congregated forces amounted to five hundred men. Col. Huntington of the Continental army, with the troops which had been stationed at Danbury, and the scattered forces of Wooster, with other militia who had joined him, was hanging on the rear of the British column, and sent to Arnold for

[*] Barber. [†] Traditional history.

advice and assistance. General Silliman was accordingly detached, with orders to fall upon the rear as soon as the enemy should be in motion. These orders were anticipated, for before Silliman could join, and as soon as the march was begun on the next day, Huntington commenced a brisk attack.* As the enemy's columns came in sight of Arnold's position, apprehending it too formidable for attack, they wheeled to the left and made for Saugatuck river, at a point at which it was fordable; and as Arnold, facing about, was making for the bridge over that river, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat, the British quickened their march in order to cross the road leading to the passage; before their retreat could be intercepted.†

Arnold now advanced with all expedition to cross the bridge, and fall upon the right flank of the retreating column. This design was defeated by the extraordinary celerity of the enemy, who quickened their pace to a brisk trot, and succeeded in passing the road, before the Provincials could defile on the bridge, and form on the other side of the river. The corps under Silliman and Huntington now joined, the whole were formed in two columns, with two field pieces on each flank, and they pushed with spirit to attack the enemy's rear.‡

At this juncture, Colonel Lamb arrived on the ground. As soon as news of the invasion was scattered abroad, the militia began to assemble and to march to the point of danger. Colonel Hugh Hughes of the quartermaster's department, then visiting his family in Connecticut, on furlough; happened to be in New Haven, and ascertaining that Oswald had marched the day before, posted to Southington with the news, well knowing that the commander of the artillery would not willingly be absent from the field, when his men were likely to be engaged. As he was approaching the house of the Colonel, he perceived his servant grooming his

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* Barber.

† Idem.

‡ Idem.

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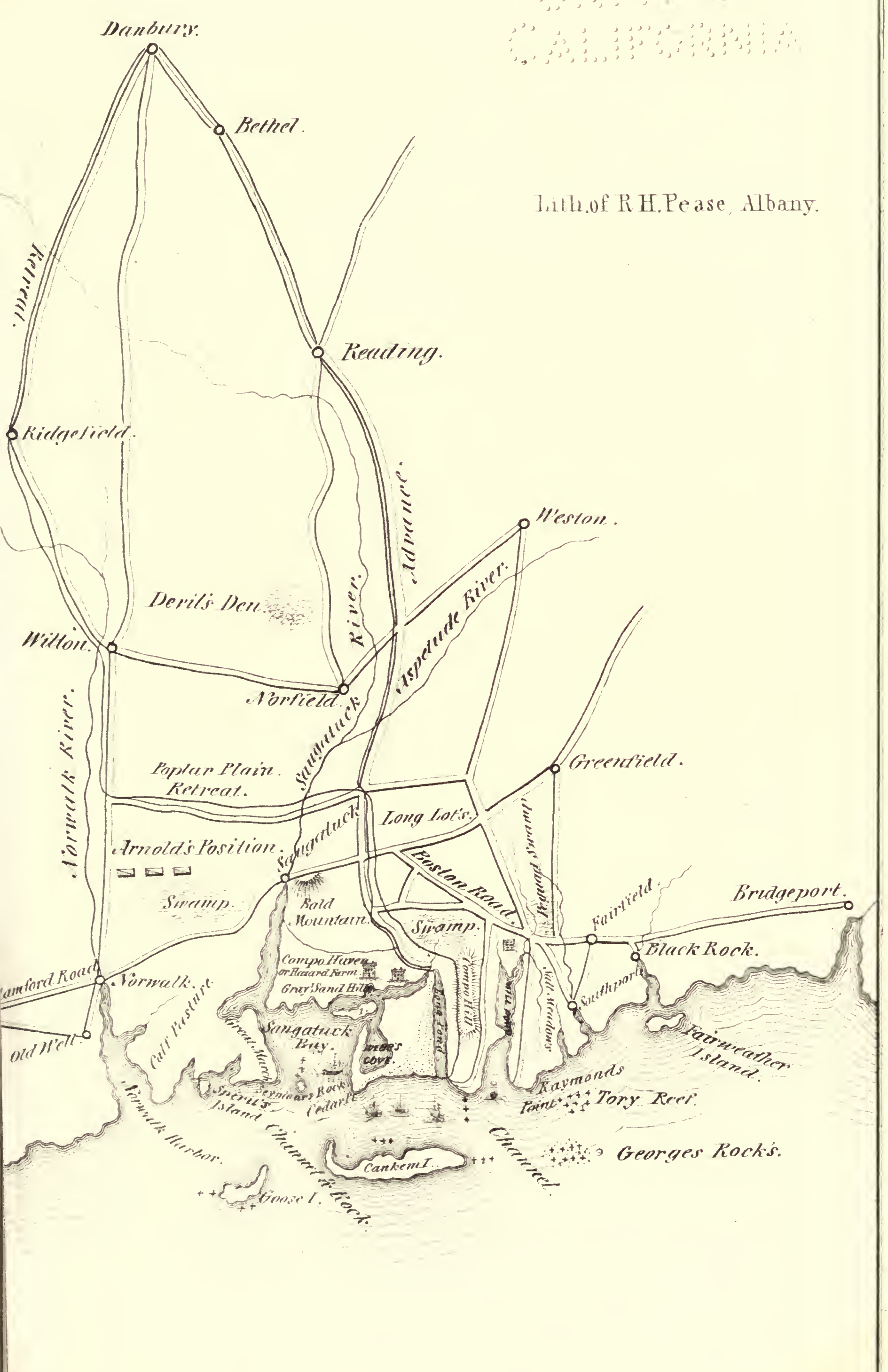

horses, and knowing that they would soon be in requisition, he instructed the man to prepare them for the march with all dispatch. Arriving, he made known his intelligence, and as Lamb was hastening to the door to order his horses he was told that his wishes had been anticipated, and every thing in a state of preparation. In a few minutes they were in the saddle, and spurring with all haste to the scene of action.

The distance was nearly sixty miles, and some delay occurring, they did not reach the ground until the attack on the second day was begun. Nearly at the same time, about two hundred volunteers had reached the field. Leaving to Oswald the charge of the artillery, Colonel Lamb assumed the command of this detachment, who readily put themselves under his orders, and joined the battle with great gallantry. Col. Hughes in the meantime, seeking Arnold, volunteered his services as aid, and continued with him until the fight was over.

The enemy, hard pressed in the retreat, pushed for Compo Hill, and having gained that favorable position for defence, they brought their artillery to the front, and made a stand; despatching messengers for a reinforcement from the fleet. Large bodies of sailors and marines were put in motion for the shore, and by means of these reinforcements, the harrassed troops were enabled to embark; while with fresh men, the British made good their position, notwithstanding every effort to dislodge them.*

Four field pieces on the enemy's right, within an enclosure of stone-fence, most exceedingly annoyed the Provincials in that part where Lamb was engaged. Leaping from his horse, he proposed to the volunteers to carry them by storm. They readily assented, and advanced very bravely, receiving unterrified the grape-shot which was plentifully showered around them. Lamb encouraged them onward, assuring them that they would soon be in possession of the pieces, and they advanced towards the fence with great resolution. On the point of scaling the wall, and when their leader, astride the top, was waving them on with his sword, a grape-shot struck him obliquely, and passing the backbone, tore the flesh on the left side, and cast him on the ground; fortunately upon the side of the fence least exposed to the fire of the enemy, which was kept up with unabated fury. The men who had followed with so much intrepidity, now broke their ranks and fled in confusion.*

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*Barber's His. Conn.

For some time, Col. Lamb was stunned and incapable of moving; but recovering, he regained his legs, and slowly, from necessity, began a retreat. This he did, under a shower of musketry from several platoons who advanced towards the fence, and delivered their fire with hearty good will; but he reached the American lines without further injury. This unsuccessful attack terminated the battle; and the British were left to pursue their retreat. The fluctuations of the fight, had brought Arnold's corps near the spot where this charge was made; when Colonel Hughes, discovered a man mounted on the horse of his friend and riding from the field. Him he instantly dismounted and questioned with regard to the owner of the horse. The fugitive disclosed the issue of the attack on the guns, and the probable fate of Lamb, whom he had seen fall, and pointed towards the spot. The wounded colonel was found in the crowd, and by the assistance of Hughes, he gained the Hazard house near by, which was made a hospital for the occasion.

The British were hotly pressed in this retreat by the small force of the Provincials, not at any time exceeding twelve hundred men; and had they not been able to secure so impregnable a position as Campo Hill to cover their reëmbarkation, their loss would have been more severe. They landed with sixty rounds to each man, and very little ammunition was expended in the advance, but on their arrival at the boats every cartouch-box was exhausted. General Tryon magnified the success of the expedition, and in his report returned Colonel Lamb as killed.† Perhaps " the wish was father to the thought." Wooster, whose advance upon New York, with the Connecticut troops, had been one of the causes of his hasty abdication, had fallen; and had Lamb, the most daring agitator and disturber of the Colonial government, shared the same destiny, the ci-devant Governor, might have considered the manifestations of fate much on his side.

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* Family tradition.

† Almon's Remembrancer.

As Colonel Lamb was brought into the hospital, the surgeon was preparing to operate upon a young militia officer, whose hand and wrist were badly lacerated by a musket shot. As he was baring his arm for the occasion, a British soldier, shot through the body, was brought into the apartment. Seeing the desperate situation of the wounded man, who appeared in great agony, the youth, pointing to the sufferer, exclaimed to the surgeon—That poor fellow wants your services more than I do; and proceeded to replace the handkerchief, with which he had stanched the blood of his crippled limb. He waited while the surgeon was examining the soldier, who was mortally wounded, and died in a few minutes; and then removing the bandage from his mangled arm, submitted to the amputation.*

The wound of Colonel Lamb was more painful than dangerous; but he narrowly escaped death. Owing to a remarkable inward curvature of the spine, the bone escaped fracture; and the vital parts being protected by the flesh on both sides of the vertebræ, were uninjured, yet he was placed *hors de combat* for some weeks afterwards. After the wound was dressed, he was taken to the house of Mr. Simpson, temporarily resident of Norwalk, and afterwards to Colonel Deming's, at Fairfield. While there, he received an order from General Parsons to repair to New Haven, and take the command of that place, which had been, in the absence of General Arnold, confided to Lieut.-Colonel Oswald. As the letter is a pattern of military courtesy, it is inserted in full.

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* The name of this resolute and noble fellow, was Jacob Travis. He was a Lieutenant in the militia, and received a pension from government.—*Family tradition.*

HARTFORD, 14th May, 1777.

Sir: You repair to New Haven as soon as you can, and take command of the Continental battalions, or detachments which are, or shall arrive there, until some superior officer shall come in to command. You will, as soon as possible after you arrive at New Haven, order such of the troops as have had the small pox, to march to Peekskill, under the command of such officers as you shall order; the remaining parts are to be kept diligently to exercise and duty. All detachments coming in without arms, are to be supplied.

Your humble servt.
SAM'L. H. PARSONS, *B. Gen'l.*[*]

This order was obeyed as soon as the removal of Colonel Lamb was considered prudent, and on the 18th May, he took command at New Haven.[†]

[*] Lamb papers, N. Y. His Soc.

[†] Idem.

CHAPTER XII.

Recruiting.—Mott at Albany.—Gen. Gates.—Meigs's Expedition.—Putnam's Design on Long Island.—Preparations for Descent.—Orders to Peekskill.—Gates's Intrigue.—Machinations against Schuyler and St. Clair.—Rumors in Camp.—Putnam's Manners repulsive.—Lamb directed to Fort Montgomery.—Applies for Active Command —Burgoyne's Advance.—Camp Rumors.—Arnold.—Movements of Sir H. Clinton.—Forts Montgomery and Clinton.—Storm.—Defence.—Garrisoncut their Way through.—Geo. Clinton.—James Clinton.—Lamb.—Major Lush a Prisoner.—Scottish Volunteer.—Mr. Hamilton's Opinion of Defence.—Marshall's.—Court of Enquiry.

Meanwhile, the officers which he had appointed were sedulously engaged in recruiting; and agreeably to orders, as each company was filled, they were marched to Head Quarters. Captain Mott, who was recruiting at Albany, met with many difficulties from General Gates, who about that time had reached Albany, in command of the northern army; and had already began to exhibit the importance which the success of his manœuvres had inspired. The intrigue against Washington was in full operation, and Gates, aware of the predilections of many of the officers who had served in the Canadian campaign, for Arnold, and consequently were fast friends of Washington, as the supporter of their favorite General; took much pains to chafe the irritability of Captain Mott, who was one of these, by ordering him on service to the north; thereby impeding the filling of the regiment of Colonel Lamb, who he well knew was inimical to his pretensions; and whose companies were destined for the camp at Head Quarters. The following extract of a letter from Capt. Mott, will exhibit the *manner* of the General, when he had no prospect of obtaining proselytes to his scheme; although his mode of address was very different, to those whose support he had hopes of gaining.

Letter dated Albany, 23d April, 1777: "The day before yesterday, General Gates, who arrived here a week since, sent for me and ordered me to be ready to march for Tie (Ticonderoga) the next day, as a guard for the twenty tons of powder, and to take all my officers with me. I asked him if it was his intention that we were to stay at Tie. Yes, says he; where the h–ll would you stay? I told him that I did not pretend to have any choice. Where, says he, did you expect to go? I told him I expected to have joined our own regiment in New Jersey, and expected orders for that purpose. Why, says he, it seems to me that you want to get as far out of the way as possible. I answered, You are mistaken sir; my inclination has always been to go where I am ordered. Well, says he, you have your orders. He insulted me most grossly.

" Yesterday, when I waited upon him for an order for arms, he was polite enough; and signified something like an intention of my returning, when I had delivered the powder.

" What an absurd step is this, to send four officers and fourteen men to Tie, where they can not recruit; where they can be of no service; where they are not wanted. To separate them two or three hundred miles from their regiment, by which means they will be deprived of their clothes, and indeed of every thing. For God's sake, extricate me out of this horrid situation, if possible."*

An expedition was ordered by General Parsons, with part of his brigade, against Sag Harbor, on Long Island, which was committed to the care of Lieut.-Colonel Meigs, the fellow prisoner of Colonel Lamb, at Quebec. This was executed on the 23d May, with great brilliancy and success;† and General Putnam, encouraged by the fortunate issue of this enterprise, resolved upon one more extensive in its operation. To mask this design, orders were given, on the 1st June, to the commanders of the several stations, to dispatch all their troops to Peekskill, whatever might be the state of their equipments; and great care was taken to *permit* these orders to get into the public papers.‡

*Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. †Marshall. ‡Lamb papers.

Their meaning was explained, and the secret intentions of the expedition were disclosed to Colonel Lamb. The design was to concentrate all the troops in that quarter at New Haven, and Fairfield, and make a descent on Long Island, as a retaliatory measure to the expedition which had made such ravages at Danbury.* The pressing orders to march for Peekskill, on the 11th June, countermanded to White Plains; and the strict injunctions to provide *whale boats,* were fully understood; and Colonel Lamb remained at his post, notwithstanding the invitation of General Knox to head quarters, on business of importance; making every preparation for the intended descent; until the movements of Sir William Howe in the Jerseys, began to indicate the approach of a general battle; when the troops were ordered in earnest to Peekskill. Lieutenant-Colonel Oswald with part of the regiment was already there, and Colonel Lamb prepared to follow with the residue, as speedily as possible.

The secret intrigue of Gates was prosecuted with great vigor, and no effort was spared to alarm the people of this and the eastern states; and to poison their minds by the most preposterous fabrications. Rumors as early as 16th June, had reached the camp, and were circulated from Fishkill, of the defection and desertion of the northern generals,† and of the dispersion of our forces on the frontier. These were so confidently and extensively circulated, that when that excellent but unfortunate general, St. Clair, nearly a month afterwards, was forced by an overwhelming force from his untenable positions on Lake Champlain; the event was considered as confirmation of the absurd charge of treachery which had been previously brought against him.

General Putnam, who commanded in the Highlands, was beyond doubt of the Gates faction; and if he was not originally inclined to hostility to the Commander in Chief, the influence of Col. Burr, his aid, whose inveteracy against Washington, was increased by some coldness or slight, which had driven him from the military family at head quarters, would have brought him over to the "monster faction." The rudeness of General Putnam's manners were repulsive to the feelings of many of his officers,* and as this was exhibited in a very aggravated degree, to those who were devoted to the Commander in Chief, their situation was rendered most uncomfortable. Lieutenant-Colonel Oswald was made to feel this in a very peculiar manner, and was provoked to the degree of resigning his commission. His confidential letters to Colonel Lamb, on the subject, speak in no reverential or affectionate terms of the old "bear hunter" in command.† On Colonel Lamb's arrival some days after, Oswald was induced to forego his purposed resignation, and remain at Peekskill; while Lamb, was on the 4th July, directed to take the command at Fort Montgomery.‡ The inactivity of a post in garrison, while the grand army under Washington were on the alert in expectation of a general engagement, was not at all satisfactory, to a person as eager of service as Colonel Lamb; he therefore wrote to General Knox, and begged for more energetic employment in the field.§ This request was not complied with; but hopes were given him, of some future disposition, more favorable to his wishes.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

The enemy in order to conceal the intended operations of Burgoyne, at the north; and to prevent reinforcements to Schuyler from the main army, circulated reports of the withdrawal of all their forces from Canada, for the purpose of concentrating them at New York; and news had reached the cantonment at Fishkill, that leaving three hundred only on the Champlain and the St. Lawrence, the whole army had arrived and debarked on Staten Island.|| This rumor, was soon afterwards followed by another much nearer the truth; which was, that a formidable invasion of the state was contemplated, on its northern and western frontier.¶ While Burgoyne was to approach by the Champlain and Hudson, a central force of tories and Indians, were to lay waste the settlements on the Mohawk; and a third expedition, headed by the Chief Brant, from the head waters of the Susquehanna and Delaware, were to coöperate, and form a junction with the other two; at the same time that General Clinton, by a simultaneous movement from New York, was to force the passes of the Highlands, and concentrate the two armies at Albany.*

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.
|| Idem. ¶ Idem.

These rumors occasioned a change of head quarters; for the army broke up from Morristown, and marched to Ramapo, a favorable position for the defence of the North river fortifications. They had scarcely arrived there, when the intelligence of the British general's movement to the Delaware, and the sailing of the fleet, apprised Washington of his design on Philadelphia. Speedily decamping, the army was ordered to the various ferries on the Delaware, above Trenton; and the general himself, crossing at Coryell's, assembled his army on the right bank of the river, and by rapid marches proceeded to Philadelphia.

Ever anxious of serving his friends, and justly appreciating the services of those daring spirits who had braved peril in the dangerous days of the Stamp Act; Col. Lamb took much pains to procure the advancement of Capt. Mott, who had been one of the foremost of these, and who had done good service at Quebec, to the vacant majority of his regiment;† but Gen. Knox could not be induced to give his consent, having a preference for a very good officer, but one of disagreeable manners, and temper. Capt. Mott, who had been so uncivilly treated at Albany, by Gen. Gates, during his temporary command there, in May, was now, most probably from the same cause which produced that animosity, exposed to much vexation. He had been stationed at Fort Constitution, in command of that post,‡ and in charge of the laboratory there. From this station an attempt was made to supersede him, by the substitution in his stead, of an eastern officer, of a lower grade in rank, and service; as he was not naturally very passive under aggressions of that sort, he vehemently opposed the injustice, and Col. Lamb, sustaining him with all his energy, the design was abandoned.*

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* Marshall. † Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. ‡ Idem.

The conspiracy against the Commander-in-Chief was not idle; nor were the conspiritors less sparing of their machinations and calumnies against Gen. Schuyler, than they had been against Washington; and by force of these, Gates was again ordered to the command of the northern army, to reap the harvest sown by the indefatigable efforts of Schuyler, and by the self sacrifice of his gallant, but unfortunate coadjutor, St. Clair; and accompanied by Gov. George Clinton, the newly appointed General, on the 15th August, proceeded to Albany.† Col. Lamb now received instructions to join at head quarters, in Bucks county, for a special conference with Gen. Knox;‡ but news of the movement of the grand army, from that place to Wilmington, and the frequent changes of position, before, and after the battle of Brandywine, prevented him from obeying the order; and subsequent operations of the British Commander at New York, rendered it inexpedient to leave his post.

The friendship begun with Arnold, at Quebec, had been strengthened by subsequent associations, and conjoint efforts in the public service. They had been under fire together, recently at Compo, and the bearing of both on that day, had not tended to lessen their mutual regard. In a correspondence which was kept up between them, Col. Lamb expressed his dissatisfaction at the inactivity of garrison duty. He would have been better satisfied in sharing the dangers of either army, and would gladly have been with his old Commander, in active service in the field. Arnold had been dispatched by Washington, as a very efficient mean of strengthening the northern army; and on his arrival from his successful expedition to Fort Stanwix, which had so much contributed to the gallant defence of Gansevoort, and Willett,

* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

unsuspicious of the vexations, and mortifications which were awaiting him at the camp of Gates, addressed the following letter to Col. Lamb:*

HALF MOON, Sept. 5, 1777.

Dear Colonel:

Your favor of the 8th July, was delivered me last week, on my return from Fort Schuyler. A hurry of business has prevented me from answering it before. I am much obliged to you for the concern you express for my health and welfare; and you will not impute my silence to inattention or want of friendship, when I assure you I have wrote you twice from Philadelphia, and once since my arrival in this quarter.

I am convinced, by some villainy in the post riders, or negligence in those who carry letters; one-half of those directed to me, and those which I send, never come to hand. I have received but three letters, out of seven, wrote me by my sister.

I am sorry to find you are in a place that is not agreeable to you. I heartily wish your reg't with us, as a few days, in all probability, will determine the fate of Gen. Burgoyne's army, or that of ours. We have six thousand men here, and four at Bennington, who will endeavor to get in his rear, while we attack in front; our people are in high spirits, and wish for action.

We expect soon to hear of an action between Gens. Washington, and Howe. This month, I believe, will be very important in the annals of America. I had the pleasure of hearing from home a few days since, when all were well. Capt. Wooster, by whom I send this, informs me Capt. Mansfield has lately been ill, but is recovered. Please present my respects to him, and Col. Oswald, and rest assured of the friendship and good wishes of,

Dr Colonel,
Your affectionate,
Humble serv't,
B. ARNOLD.

Col. LAMB.

P. S. Please assure Col. Oswald, that the hurry of business only, prevents my writing him. I have hardly one minute to myself. I wish the pleasure of hearing from you both often.
B. A.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

N. B. My sister writes me, she sent one of my horses to Peekskill, about the 25th July, to be forwarded to me; and that she intended sending another, the last of July. I have received neither,[*] and beg the favor of Col. Oswald, to make enquiry for them, as he knows the horses; the one a sorrel stallion; the other a sorrel mare. I wish him, if they can be found, to send them to Albany, to the Dep'y Qr-Master General.

Yours,
B. A.[†]

By this time, indications of activity on the part of the enemy in New York, began to reconcile Col. Lamb to his position. There were three posts in the Highlands. The first point selected by the Commissioners appointed by the Provincial Congress, under the advisement of Col. Bernard Romans, engineer appointed by the Congress, was situated on the crown of Martlaers rock, or Martyrs cliff, opposite to West Point, and on the left bank of the river.[‡] This position was supposed to form part of the estate of Col. Beverly Robinson, to whom application was made by the Commissioners, to purchase the site;[§] who, in reply, informed them that the ground did not belong to him, or he would freely grant it to the public, for the purpose contemplated; and he referred them to the agent of Mrs. Ogilvie, the real owner.[||] A morass in the rear, and a creek surrounding the point, gave it the appearance of a very defensible position; but it was found to be commanded by West Point, and the hills above it. A Committee of Congress, Robert R. Livingston, Robert Treat Paine, and John Langdon, visited the works, and reported this defect to Congress. The Commander-in-Chief, then directed Gen. Putnam to order Lord Sterling, with Cols. Putnam, and Knox, to make farther reconnoissances; Col. Knox not being able to attend, Capt. Sergeant was substituted in his stead. Lord Stirling, in behalf of this Committee, recommended the occupation of West Point; and in addition to the works on the north bank of Pooploop's kill, already in contemplation, that the eminence on the south side, which commanded the left bank of the creek, to its mouth, should be fortified also.

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[*] This may explain the reason, why Arnold rode a borrowed horse at the battles of Saratoga; though it appears that Gov. Lewis, and Gen. Wilkinson, are at issue with regard to the owner of the animal, thus employed. Wilkinson affirming the one ridden on the 7th October, to have been a black horse, belonging to Mr. Leonard Chester; and Mr. Sparks, on the authority of Gov. Lewis, says: "The animal was a beautiful Spanish horse, which had formerly belonged to Gov. Skeene, but now the property of Col. Lewis, and borrowed by Arnold, for the occasion. Wilkinson was most probably correct, as he says he saw the horse dead, in the redoubt.

[†] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

[‡] American Archives. [§] Idem. [||] Idem.

A Committee of the Provincial Congress, was appointed to confer with Gen. Washington, on the subject of the fortifications in the Highlands; who, probably in consequence of the report of Lord Sterling, decided upon taking the direction of the river defences into his own hands. The Commissioners were accordingly discharged of further superintendence by the Congress. The suggestions of Lord Sterling were adopted to the letter. A strong work was erected on the south bank of Pooploop's creek; and the energies of the government were devoted to put it in a respectable state of defence; while Fort Montgomery, on the other side, was left in an imperfect state. These works were commanded by Fort Clinton, which was elevated twenty-three feet above them.*

As soon as they were in a condition to receive garrisons, the command of the post was assigned to Brig. Gen. James Clinton, who was stationed in the Fort bearing his name; and to Col. Lamb, was committed the defence of Fort Montgomery. A company of Lamb's artillery, with a few regulars and militia, not a tenth part enough to defend them, were placed in each fort; and thus, positions, upon which every thing depended, were so weakly garrisoned as to tempt Sir Henry Clinton, the least enterprising of the British commanders, to undertake to carry them by a coup de main.†

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* American Archives. Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

On the 25th of March, 1777, the Continental Congress, at the suggestion of that of New York, resolved to appoint a commandant of the forts in the Highlands, when George Clinton was elected to that post, and the rank of Brigadier General assigned him. A short time afterwards, that officer was elected Governor of New York, and the duties of that station absorbing his time, he did not assume the command.

A point of land commanding the mouth of the Peekskill, and protecting the communication with the surrounding country, designated by Lord Sterling, was also occupied and fortified; and Gen. Putnam, with a corps of regulars and militia, was stationed near it, as commander of the forces in the Highlands.*

Early in October, the British General embarked his forces, ostensibly for a southern expedition, and waited a favorable wind for the execution of his real design, which was to make a diversion in favor of Burgoyne, (then held in check at the north) by the capture of the river defences. The opportunities were propitious, and a powerful naval armament, with four thousand troops on board, suddenly menanced Putnam's position, and landed at Verplanck's Point.†

Putnam was caught by the device, and believing the defences on the east side of the river to be the object of the British General, obstinately refused the entreaties of officers more sagacious than himself,‡ to send adequate succors to the posts opposite; nor after the main body of the British had the next day crossed to Stoney Point, and were on their march to Forts Clinton and Montgomery; and even after the firing was heard at the forts above him, could he be prevailed upon to send forces to the relief of the beleaguered posts.§

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* American Archives. Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Marshall. ‡ Lamb papers.

§ It was equally unfortunate for the country, and the military reputation of Putnam, that he suffered himself to be so deceived; and this scarcely could have happened, had Col. Burr been of his military family at that time; but some months before, he had been appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Malcom's regiment; and was then in command of it in New Jersey.

But Gov. Clinton was not so easily blinded. As soon as notice was given him that the fleet was on the river, he prorogued the legislature, then in session at Kingston, and collecting such militia as could be assembled, proceeded to assume the command to which he had been assigned by Congress. He had scarcely time to throw himself, with four hundred of his followers, into the forts, when the British, having deceived Putnam, advanced to the attack. The whole force reached the pass of the Dunderberg about eight o'clock in the morning, when a halt was ordered. Lieut.-Col. Campbell, of the fifty-second regiment, with part of his own, and and the fifty-seventh, the American Loyalists, under Col. Beverly Robinson, the New York Volunteers under Col. Grant, together with Emerick's Chasseurs, in all, about nine hundred men,[*] were ordered to detour round the westerly side of Bear hill, in order to gain the rear of Fort Montgomery. As soon as sufficient time had elapsed to enable this detachment to effect the detour, the right column under Clinton, and Vaughan, passing the ravine between Bear hill, and Dunderberg, began their march upon Fort Clinton, while a brigade under Tryon, ex-governor of New York, who had accepted the commission of Major-General of Provincials, was left to keep open the communication with the left wing, and to cover the retreat, in case of disaster. Campbell's detachment fell in with a small force of Americans, of thirty men; these he attacked, and they retreated, skirmishing, into Fort Clinton.[†] Gov. Clinton, who had left his brother in command of the strongest post, undertook the defence of the more extensive and half-finished works of Fort Montgomery.

Immediately after the piquets were driven in, Gov. Clinton ordered a force of one hundred men, under Lieut.-Cols. Bruyn, and McClaughry, towards Doodletown,[‡] and a detachment of sixty men, with a brass field piece, to a favorable position on the furnace road, to check the enemy, and gall him in the advance. Both parties were soon in action. The artillery was reinforced with forty men;* and the two detachments maintained a spirited resistance, until driven from their positions at the point of the bayonet, by the overwhelming force of the enemy. The nature of the ground rendering it impossible to bring off the gun, it was spiked and abandoned.† A twelve pounder, under the direction of Col. Lamb, having been placed so as to cover the retreat, the two parties retired in good order, and with little loss to the fort.‡

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[*] Almon's Remembrancer, and Maps, Warden's collection in State Library. [†] Idem.

[‡] Gov. Clinton's letter to Committee of Public Safety, Albany. Dunlap's History of New York.

By this time, the main body under Sir Henry Clinton, had reached the other fortress; and both positions were attacked with great resolution.§ The firing continued on both sides with unabated spirit, until five o'clock in the afternoon, when a flag was sent to the Governor, with a summons to surrender in five minutes, or abide a general assault. The terms were rejected with scorn, and the best disposition made for defence.|| The numbers of the enemy were sufficient to enable them to assail the garrison on all sides at once, and after a short interval, the storm on both forts commenced. Notwithstanding the scanty number of the defenders, the guns were actively served, and the enemy repeatedly repulsed; but the works were too extensive, and taking advantage of the darkness, the lines, and the redoubts of both places were carried.¶ Part of the garrisons were made prisoners, among whom was Maj. Stephen Lush, the Governor's aid; but the commanders of both forts, with their principal officers, and many of the men, fought their way through the enemy, and escaped.** James Clinton, the commander of Fort Clinton, cut his passage to the woods in the rear. While thus engaged, a British soldier made a thrust at him with his bayonet; but happening to have the orderly book of his garrison,

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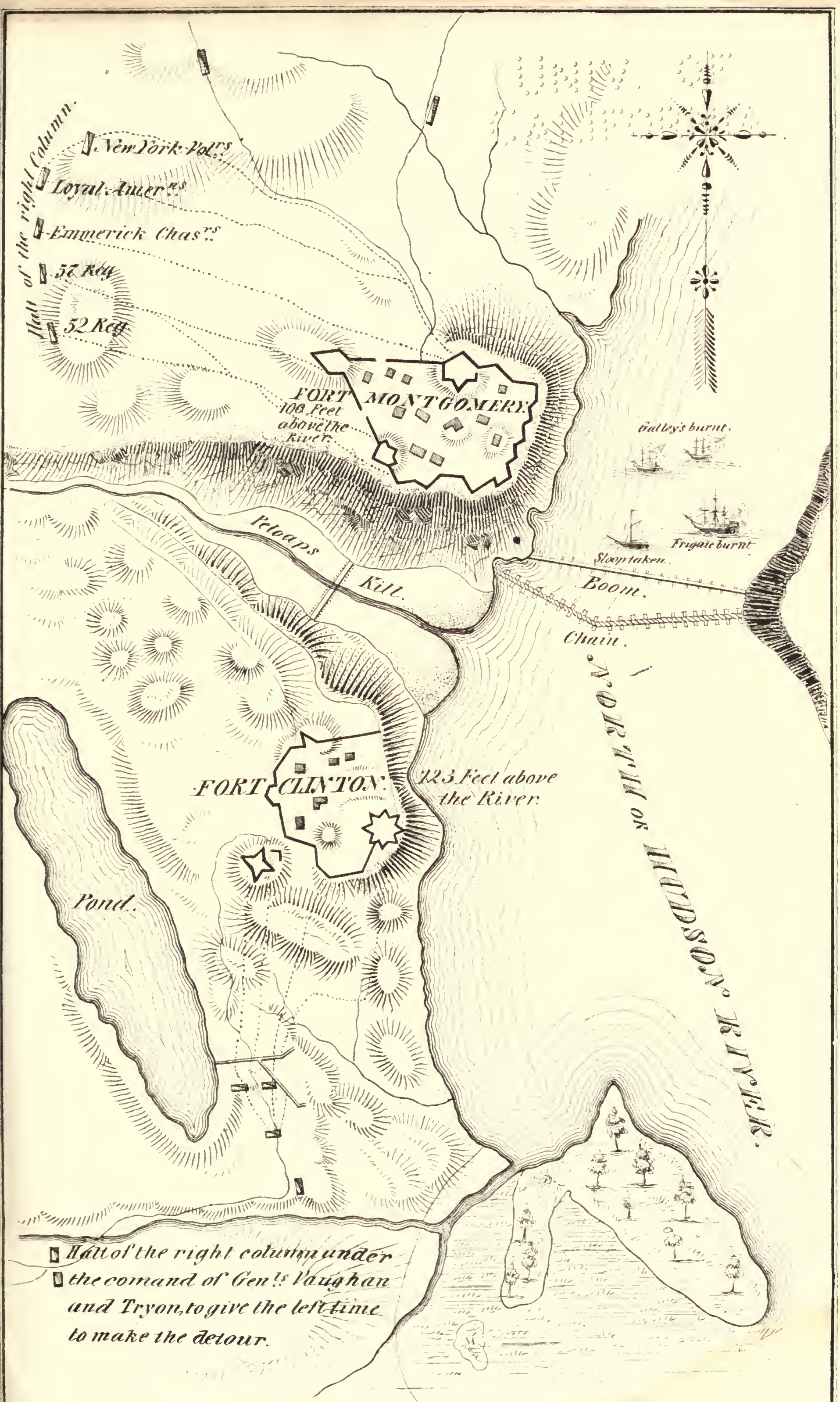
* Gov. Clinton's letter to Committee of Public Safety, Albany. Dunlap's History of New York. † Clinton's Letter. ‡ Idem. §Idem. || Idem.

¶ Traditional History of the Lamb family. ** Idem.


Halt of the right Column.
New York Vol.rs
Loyal Amer.ns
Emmerick Chas.rs
57 Reg.
52 Reg.
FORT MONTGOMERY.
108 Feet above the River.
Galley's burnt.
Frigate burnt.
Sloop taken.
Peloaps Kill.
Boom.
Chain.
NORTH or HUDSON'S RIVER.
FORT CLINTON.
123 Feet above the River.
Pond.
Halt of the right column under the comand of Gen.ls Vaughan and Tryon, to give the left time to make the detour.

Lith. of R. H. Pease, Albany.

in the pocket of his coat; the point of the weapon was arrested by the book; and the General escaped with a wound in his thigh, not so deep as to disable him.* George Clinton was unhurt, but came near captivity or death. He had reached the river side, as a boat with part of the garrison, was on their way across to the opposite shore, when he hailed the fugitives. An officer, familiar with the sound, recognized the Governor's voice, and ordered the boat back. It was loaded to the gunwale, and Clinton, unwilling to endanger the safety of the others, refused to enter; determining to attempt the passage by swimming. To obviate this necessity, the patriotic officer offered to surrender his place, and run the risk of captivity himself, rather than to hazard the safety of the Governor; but to this the latter would not consent. An experiment was made, and it was found that the boat might possibly carry them all, without swamping. The passage, though attended with much danger, was happily made, and the whole party landed safely on the opposite shore.†

Col. Lamb, soon after the close investment of the fort, was ordered by Gov. Clinton, to the water batteries;‡ where a heavy attack had begun, sustained by a part of the enemy's flotilla; which had, notwithstanding the fire of the American galleys, approached within striking distance. While busily engaged in the defence, a drummer boy,§ finding his vocation of little use, accosted Col. Lamb, and begged that he might have a musket.|| This, on account of his extreme youth, and presumed inexperience, was at first refused; and the little

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* Traditional history.

† Mr. Headly, in his life of James Clinton, has this incident erroneously stated. He makes that General, the person, who by entreaty, and almost by compulsion, saved the life of the Governor, his younger brother. He forgets that both fortresses were carried about the same time, and that at the moment the lines were forced, the brothers were more than half a mile apart.

‡ Traditional history.

§ Now or lately Gen. Godwin, of Patterson, New Jersey.

|| Family tradition.

fellow cried with vexation, and disappointment at the refusal. This so wrought on Col. Lamb, that he ordered him to be supplied with arms; and side by side, with the Rev. Mr. Gano, the Chaplain, he waited the advance of the storming party. A part of the platoon was for firing too soon, but the new recruit insisted upon waiting until the white of the eye was visible, that the shot might have sure effect; and he sustained his part very bravely throughout the remainder of the action.*

The defenders of the fort, from the paucity of the garrison, were much scattered, and part of the parapet on the other side had been scaled and was in the possession of the enemy. The reverend, and valiant chaplain, having ascertained this, and that the defences on Lamb's side, would soon be assailed in the rear, advised him of the fact; and as a wounded officer from the other side arrived, announcing the hopelessness of farther resistance; orders were given to cut their way through the enemy. This was done; and rushing down the outside of the parapet, a part of the garrison, Lamb, sword in hand at their head, escaped;† himself without personal injury, but with the loss of his private and military papers.

In this affair, the heaviest loss in officers and men, fell upon the assailants of Fort Montgomery,‡ Colonels Campbell and Grant,§ with other officers, were killed, and the command of the detachment which assailed that fort had devolved on Col. Robinson, at the time of the capture.

The defence of these posts was obstinate and well contested. The loss of the British was severe. An aid-de-camp of Sir Henry Clinton, two colonels, besides other officers, were killed, and the valor evinced by the garrison, officers and men, was loudly applauded. The reputation of both the Clintons, for courage, was deservedly high, and the bravery exhibited on this occasion, added much to their military fame; and the histories of the time, gave great commendation to the defenders of these forts.*

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* Family tradition. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

§ Sir H. Clinton's official account, in Almon's Remembrancer, 5th vol., 424, &c.

There was a volunteer, a Scotchman, by the name of Stuart, engaged in this battle; and it appears that he did not hold the *rebels* in the same horror, as his countryman at Quebec; for he joined the American ranks, and resisted the assailants with much intrepidity. He had often heard the

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* And yet Mr. Hamilton, regardless of the well-earned fame of others, has ventured to decry it. In page 146, of the life of his father, speaking of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, he says: "The former, a circular height, defended by a line for musketry, with a barbet battery in the centre of three guns, and flanked with two redoubts; the latter, 'strongly fortified by nature, almost inaccessible in itself, and sufficiently manned,' were both, 'after a feeble and unskilful defence, carried by storm.' Gov. Clinton, who commanded, a man of courage, and on most occasions, active and vigorous, having escaped."

The above remarks, describing Fort Clinton, are extracted from the official report of the storm by Sir Henry Clinton, without any marks of quotation, and those which relate to Fort Montgomery, are marked as extracts. I have not been able to discover from whence they were taken, but every book relating to the subject, to which I have had access, so far from expressing such sentiments, gives opinions directly the reverse. But from whatever source derived, they are notoriously untrue; and in their application to the Clintons, to Lamb, Livingston, Dubois, Bruyn, and to the other officers, and to the rank and file of the garrisons, they are ungenerous and unjust.

Instead of being formidable by nature, and sufficiently manned, Fort Montgomery was incomplete, and easily attained. There were not half men enough in both garrisons to have defended Fort Clinton alone, which was by far the most impregnable position. And as for the ability and vigor of the defence, Steadman, a British officer, who served in the war, under Sir Henry Clinton, and other Generals, in his history of the times, after rating the garrison at four hundred men, admitting that "the point assailed at Fort Montgomery, was not very strong, either from situation or works," extols the valor, and "invincible resolution" of the assailants "*in no instance exceeded during the American war*," and declares that the Americans defended themselves courageously." Even Gates, who was reluctant to admit the merit of any one, not of his faction, (and the defenders of the Highland Forts, were the fast friends of Washington,) declares that "*the noble defence of Fort Montgomery, will, to the latest posterity, adorn the name of Clinton.*"

Was it well done in the grandson of Schuyler, a patriot of the purest officers boast the goodness and justice of the cause they were engaged in. I know little about the quarrel, was the reply, and care less; it is enough for me, that you are rebels to the House of Hanover, to keep me on your side. My grand father was a rebel, and out in the Fifteen; and my father was engaged in Forty-five, and at Culloden. I was born a

character, whose memory has more than that of any other, suffered by false history, and the calumnies of the time, thus to deny recorded facts, and to controvert established history, in order to derogate from the fame those who stood "second to none," not even to that illustrious ancestor, whom he justly reveres, for patriotism in council, and prowess in the field?

That the forts might have been successfully defended, and the force sent against them, cut to pieces, had General Putnam known how to use the means at his disposal, is very probable; but he was completely deceived, in taking the feint, for the real attack; permitting the British General to carry an overwhelming force against the only object of his expedition, and by main force, literally to crowd out the garrison, by dint of numbers.

That works, a quarter manned, should be able to resist so formidable a force the whole day, does not speak "a feeble and unskilful defence ;" and that the chief commanders, and a large part of the garrison, should be able to cut through the press that surrounded them, is some evidence of intrepidity in their defenders. That Washington so considered it, we have the authority of Chief Justice Marshall, who says: "The works were defended with resolution, and were maintained until dark; when the lines being too extensive to be completely manned, the assailants entered them in different places. The defence being no longer possible, some of the garrison were made prisoners, while their better knowledge of the country, enabled others to escape."

The Court of Enquiry, ordered by Congress, to investigate the causes of the loss, entirely acquits the *commanders of the forts*, of all blame, and ascribes it to the weakness of the garrisons alone, as will appear by the following extract from the Journals of Congress:

Aug. 17, 1778. Report of Court of Enquiry, respecting the loss of Forts Montgomery, and Clinton: "That upon a careful examination of the facts stated to the Court of Enquiry, and consideration of the evidence taken, and transmitted; it appears that those posts were lost, not from any fault, misconduct, or negligence of the commanding officers; but solely through the want of an adequate force under their command, to maintain and defend them."

To this report Congress agreed.

rebel, and bred a rebel, and a rebel to that family, I will be to the day of my death.*

In scrambling down the parapet, in the retreat, he missed his footing and fell, his sword escaping his grasp; as he had gained his knees, and was groping for the lost weapon, a British soldier was close upon him, with intent to dispatch him with the bayonet; the unevenness of the ground caused him too to stumble; and before he could recover; the Scotchman, drawing his dirk, pinned him to the ground; and leaping over the dead body, joined his companions. The loss of his hereditary claymore, grieved him sadly; and after the war was ended he waited on Col. Lamb, requesting him to use his influence with Congress, to have his sword recovered, or another given him in its stead.†

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* Family tradition. † Idem.

CHAPTER XIII.

Putnam out manœuvered.—Oswald begs to reinforce the Forts.—Retreat to New Windsor.—Heth's Battle of Germantown.—Fort Constitution. —Geo. Clinton meditates recovery of the Forts.—Putnam an attack on New York.—Oswald's Letter.—Col. Malcom's.—Burgoyne's Surrender.—Sir H. Clinton moves up the River.—Artillery on both sides attempt to annoy him.—Esopus burnt.—Holt.—C. Colles.—Gen. Knox's Letter.—Red Bank.—Gates sends Reinforcements to main Army.—Putnam detains them.—Ordered by Hamilton to join Head Quarters at White Marsh.—Gen Knox's Letter.—Fort Mifflin.—Fortifications.—Philadelphia.

Before Gen. Putnam left the camp on his project of reconnoitering the enemy, Lieut.-Col. Oswald, who had penetrated the real intention of the expedition, begged to be ordered with a reinforcement to the relief of the forts;* and it was not until Sir Henry Clinton had crossed, with the great body of the troops, to the other side, and the posts there absolutely invested, that the general began to discover that *his* post was not the object of attack. He then ordered a reinforcement to the fort, but it was too late to aid in the defence; and was of no benefit, unless it helped the garrison to make good their retreat. In the vexation of the moment, Oswald wrote the following letter:

6th October, 1777.

Heaven preserve you all, my dear Colonel! I feel for you, and lament that I can't assist you. I have made application to Gen. Putnam, that a reinforcement of artillerymen and myself, might be sent off to your support, but to my mortification, he absolutely refuses. By the next express let him know if more artillery are needed, and that I might be ordered to join you. A large reinforcement is on their march to your assistance.‡

Yours, affectionately,
E. Oswald.†

Col. Lamb.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem.

‡ Sent after Putnam's return.

After the heroic, though unsuccessful defence of the forts, Governor Clinton, with James Clinton, Colonel Lamb, and other officers and men who cut their way through the enemy, assembled at New Windsor, and for several days meditated the recapture of the forts from the British.

At this place, Colonel Lamb received a letter from his fellow prisoner at Quebec, Heth.* The information contained in it, brought little consolation to the mind of one, who felt so keenly the disasters of the country; and as some of his companies were with McDougall's brigade, he deplored the loss of the battle of Germantown, almost as severely as his own defeat.

Camp Parcomans,
Oct. 12, 1777.

Dear Colonel:

The inclosed just came to hand by some Gent. in the Frederick militia. I seize the present hour to write you, tho' am uncertain when it will meet with a conveyance.

Before this reaches you, the news of our late action at Germantown, no doubt will have come to hand. It was a grand enterprise; an inimitable plan, which nothing but its Godlike author could equal. Had the execution of it been equal to its formation, it must have been attended with the most happy success. The following are the outlines of the orders, and the assault, which had nearly completed the ruin of the whole British army. In fact we had gained a victory, had we known it.

On Friday evening, the 3d inst., the whole army marched from their encampment, (about 11 miles from the enemy,) disposed of in such a manner, as to march by several routes, so as to arrive at the enemy's picquets, by 2 o'clock—then wait until the hour of 4, and then to advance with charged bayonet, upon their front, flank and rear; but from short marches and frequent halts, it was near 6, before the first volley of small arms was heard; when General Greene and Stephens' divisions who were to oppose the enemys right, were then, (from some mismanagement,) only forming at more than a mile distant. However, our troops who made the attack were successful; they drove the enemy from field to field, and through part of Germantown. In the mean time, our wing, by another piece of bad conduct, attempted to march in line of battle, 'til that order was found impracticable; which from the number of post and rail fences, thickets, and in short every thing that could obstruct our march, threw us frequently into the greatest disorder; and as the heavy fire before us, urged us on to a dog trot, we were nearly exhausted before we came to the first field of action; when unfortunately a strong stone house, in which the enemy had taken post, drew the attention of ten times the number, that would have been sufficient to keep them snug; and from which we received considerable damage. And after we had brought some artillery to play upon opposite parts of the house; each party took the other for the enemy. About this time, an opinion prevailed among some general officers, that the house was occupied by our own men, when part of our troops were ordered off. The heavy smoke, added to a thick fog, was of great injury to us. It undoubtedly encreased the fears of some, to fancy themselves flanked and surrounded; which like an electrical shock, seized some thousands, who fled in confusion, without the appearance of an enemy.

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* This officer kept a journal of the events of the war, and Marshall has made, as he acknowledges, great use of it in his history.

What makes this inglorious flight more grating to us, is, that we know the enemy had orders to retreat, and rendezvous at Chester; and that upwards of two thousand Hessians had actually crossed the Schuylkill for that purpose; that the tories were in the utmost distress, and moving out of the city; that our friends confined in the new gaol, made it ring with shouts of joy; that we passed, in pursuing them, upwards of twenty pieces of cannon, their tents standing, filled with their choicest baggage; in fine, every thing was as we could wish, when the above flight took place. Tho' we gave away a complete victory, we have learned this valuable truth, that we are able to beat them by vigorous exertion, and that we are far superior in point of swiftness. We are in high spirits; every action gives our troops fresh vigor, and a greater opinion of their own strength; another bout or two, must make their situation very disagreeable.

They have made several attempts to bring up their shipping, which has been attended with some loss on their side. Fort Mifflin is strong, and great dependence is put in the officer who commands, and the troops under him. We have lost many valuable spirits; but none that I now recollect, of your particular acquaintance. The enemy have also lost in the same way.

I am, Dr Sir,
Yours sincerely,
WILL HETH.*

Col. LAMB.

The enemy, after the capture of Forts Montgomery, and Clinton, sent a flag to Fort Constitution, with summons to surrender. Capt. Mott, who commanded there, with a handful of artificers, fired on the flag, and refused to treat. He had resolved on evacuating the place, which he did on the same night, and drew off his men.† The enemy now pushed up a force of two thousand men, and landing below the fort, they marched into its unoccupied walls, without any opposition.‡

Some of the histories seem to consider the evacuation of Fort Constitution, as unadvised, and precipitate. Probably deceived by the hardihood of the garrison, in firing upon the flag, they imagined that the place was well garrisoned, and defensible. This is a mistake; it was a mere laboratory, as the following letters from the Commander will manifest:

FORT CONSTITUTION, 31 Aug., 1777.

Dear Colonel:

I am obliged to go to Fort Montgomery to-morrow morning, when I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you. Lieut. Ashton is just arrived, and as he is *unwell*, I have laid my commands upon him, not to leave this post without my consent; you'll be kind enough to excuse this, and I will produce him to you in the morning.

Our men are continually on guard, that is three relieves. I should be happy in the command of this post, if the General would see it proper to send fifty men more, without which reinforcement, our smiths must stand still in four days. If this reinforcement should be sent, we could burn the coal necessary; furnish the fatigue parties, and keep the necessary guards; though I humbly conceive seventy-two ought to be the reinforcement, as many of our men stand in need of discipline.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

‡ Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

I am affectionately yours,
G. Mott.*

To Col. Lamb.

Fort Constitution, 3d Oct., 1777.

"We have only two barrels of flour in this garrison, and not a boat to fetch any, or transport coal across the river; our only boat is with our oars, detained at Fort Montgomery. I beg you would be pleased to speak to the General, to have that boat and oars sent to this garrison, otherwise, our artificers must be idle, as well as our grinders, having no bread."

I am Sir, your very humble serv't,
Gershom Mott.†

Col. Lamb.

While Gov. Clinton was endeavoring to collect his scattered forces on the west side of the Hudson, and gathering strength to make an effort to regain the Highland Forts, Putnam was pursuing a line of conduct, tending, if not intended, to embarrass the design. The troops under his command, were ordered to be in readiness to march. It seems that he seriously indulged the visionary intention of attacking New York, while Sir Henry Clinton was on the river above him; and had ordered a force to Peekskill, preparatory to a march for that object. No coöperation from him therefore, could be expected to favor the recovery of the posts. The following letters from Col. Oswald, will throw some light upon the General's movements, and intentions:

Fishkill, 13 Oct., 1777.

"G. Parsons is at Peekskill. This morning, old Put came and ordered me to send off Capt. Lockwood, with his two pieces to join him, and I am told we are all to go down to the Whiteplains.

"This morning, G. Parsons sent intelligence, that Clinton had been reinforced from New York, and is determined to push up the river."‡

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

FISHKILL, 15th October, 1777.

Dear Colonel:

The whole army are paraded, and wait orders for marching to Peekskill, or perhaps farther down, just as the maggot may bite; however, I am ordered to send for a number of shells, &c., prepared for the two inch mortars, and to have them in readiness when called for.

"I hope to have the pleasure of spending the remainder of the campaign with you. If we move on towards New York, I suppose that part of the army with you, will join us."

Colonel LAMB.*

While these movements, so conflicting with the design of recapturing the forts, were in agitation, great efforts were made to forward preparations. Col. Malcom had been sent by Gov. Clinton, to Albany, for that purpose; but it was soon ascertained that the British had evacuated and destroyed them.† The battle of Saratoga had been fought; Burgoyne had reached Albany, a prisoner, and the whole country knew the particulars of the capitulation, a fortnight before the official account reached Congress.‡ The Convention of Saratoga, found few favorers among those who were not of the Gates faction; and Col. Lamb was loudest in condemnation of that precipitate, and inexpedient measure;§ nor were the miserable reasons afterwards assigned by Gates, and his followers, though satisfactory to Congress, sufficient to change his opinion. These sentiments, unequivocally avowed, did not bring him into much favor with Putnam, nor did they facilitate the future operations of his department.‖

The enemy had proceeded up the river, on the marauding expedition, under Gen. Vaughan, and had burnt Kingston. They were followed by our artillery, on both sides of the river; the guns on the west side, were too light to do them serious injury. They had, indeed, one twenty-four pounder, soon made fit for service, but had no shot. Gov. Clinton therefore dispatched a messenger to Albany, for a supply for that, and for the four pounders, which were also deficient in ball. Col. Oswald, on the other side, was better prepared, and with some heavy guns, did them considerable damage,* and every effort was made to annoy them, as they were ascending, and at their return. At Hurly, Lamb received the following letter from Col. Malcom:

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

‖ Lamb papers, N Y. His. Soc.

ALBANY, Oct. 18, 1777.

Dear Sir:

I hope you will soon be in a sufficient force to put you in possession of F. M. Write me by the return of this express, what is wanted, and every thing that you can suggest. If the fort falls, can not the fleet be shut in? I think so; if that is the case, they ought not to be annoyed in the river, nor alarmed in any way; nor any communication allowed with them. 30 odd ps of train, in B.'s camp, chiefly small; 4 12, two 24s, two 8 inch howitzers, and I think 4 or 5 royals. You will see my letter to the Governor. The sooner I have your letter, the better. Maj. Stevens, of artillery here, appears to be very clever, and hath every kind of stores, in abundance. Your estimate then. It's necessary for me to stay here. I'll tell you why, when I see you.

Burgoyne is here.

Yrs affec'y,
W. MALCOM.†

Col. LAMB.

Here Col. Lamb received intelligence of the misfortunes of two of his old friends. Holt, the patriot printer, who, on the evacuation of New York, had removed to New Haven, sending a part of his materials to Danbury, which were much scattered, when the British destroyed that town; afterwards removed to Kingston, to which place, Christopher Colles had also retired for safety; but both these unfortunate non-combatants were driven off by the enemy, and their property destroyed by the conflagration of Kingston.‡

The officers on the west side of the river, were ordered to Putnam's head quarters, and by appointment, Col. Lamb met Gen. James Clinton, at New Windsor, from whence they proceeded together to Fishkill. At that place, the following letter was received:*

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

‡ Idem.

HEAD QUARTERS, 26 October, 1777.

Dear Sir:

I am just informed of an express going off to Gen. Putnam, and can not refrain from congratulating you on the success of our arms in the Delaware. About four o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d, Count Donop, with about twelve or fifteen hundred Hessians, attacked our redoubt at Red Bank, constructed as a security for our gallies, on the Jersey side; and after a very serious trial, of about three-quarters of an hour, were obliged to retreat; leaving our brave garrison in possession of the redoubt, and victory. Count Donop, the Commander, was wounded, and taken prisoner; as were near an hundred others. The enemy left about 100 dead on the field; their whole loss must have been 600. They retreated with the utmost precipitation, until they recrossed the Delaware to Philadelphia.

The next morning, 6 ships came up thro' the lower chevaux de frize, and commenced a most furious fire at Fort Island, and the galleys. These answered them with great spirit, and after this infernal racket had continued for six hours, the enemy's fleet were obliged to retreat. In doing which, a sixty-four gun ship, and a frigate, both run aground, and were burn'd. These events, glorious in themselves, will have the best consequences. The garrisons at Red Bank, and Fort Mifflin, are in high spirits, as well as the men on board our fleet. We have hopes of being able to prevent them from getting possession of the river; which if we effect, they must depart Philadelphia. Please to shew this to Gen. Parsons, and give my love to him.

I am, dear sir, yours,
affectionately,
H. KNOX.†

The gallantry displayed in this affair, and the eclat which it gave to our arms, was peculiarly gratifying to Col. Lamb, inasmuch as his old friend, and fellow prisoner at Quebec, Col. Greene, commanded the redoubt.

Gen. Washington derived but little aid from the army of the Highlands, and still less from the northern army. Gates, with ample stores, and a formidable force, would not import them to strengthen the Commander-in-Chief, whom he vainly imagined he should soon supersede; and gave out that he meditated an expedition to Ticonderoga, as his excuse. Pressed by Washington, he was so tardy in his movements, that Col. Hamilton was dispatched to hasten his determination. He stopped on the way at New Windsor, the camp of Gov. Clinton, and crossed to Fishkill, to confer with Putnam.†

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

On his arrival at Albany, he found Gates reluctant to part with any of the forces. One reason assigned, was the fear of an attack from Sir Henry Clinton, and the destruction of the arsenal at Albany.‡ He was so strenuously urged, however, that he at length consented to send Morgan's corps, and some very thin brigades, to the general camp. Hamilton vehemently remonstrated at the inefficiency of this relief; and by the vigor of his arguments, and some persuasion, he succeeded in changing the design.§ On his way back, he again visited the camp at Fishkill, and found that Putnam, (still dreaming of the capture of New York), had detained a part of the forces dispatched by Gates; and even marched them to Tarrytown, and had himself advanced as far as White Plains, on his favorite project.||

Col. Hamilton, now, by the advice of Gov. Clinton, assumed the authority of issuing a peremptory order to Putnam, to put the continental troops in motion, for the camp at White Marsh.¶

The complaints of Col. Hamilton, of the "blunders and caprices of Putnam," were so severe, that it was rumored at head quarters, that he would be arrested on his arrival, for disobedience of orders; but however provoked on the occasion, the Commander-in-Chief did not visit the offence with such heavy retribution.

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† Hamilton's letters to Washington. ‡ Idem.

§ Hamilton's letter. || Lamb papers.

¶ Hamilton's letters.

The sailing of the fleet from New York with reinforcements to the Delaware, relieved the mind of Gen. Gates of the fear of invasion at Albany; and he was instructed by Congress to take command in the Highlands, while Putnam, with twenty-five hundred men, including Morgan's corps, were to strengthen Washington and the main army. The Commander-in-Chief was now at the head of a very formidable force, and wished to provoke the enemy to offer battle.* The following extract of a letter from Major Platt, aid-de-camp of Gen. McDougall, exhibits the feelings of the army on the subject:

HEAD QUARTERS, WHITE MARSH,
13 miles from Philadelphia, 29th Nov., 1777.

"We have now the most formidable army ever on foot on the American establishment; and I dare pledge my life there are not more than twelve thousand continental troops, and about twenty-five hundred or three thousand militia. It has been Gen. Washington's misfortune, the most of this campaign, to be inferior in numbers to the enemy; which has been the reason of his not risking what he otherwise would have wished. Thank God, we are now superior to the enemy in the field. And they, conscious of our superiority, have fortified from Delaware to Schuylkill.

They have thrown up very strong lines across, and besides these, ten or twelve very strong redoubts, ditched, friezed, picketed and abbatied; every one of which cross fire, and flank their lines. All these redoubts are within the space of one and a half or two miles; the distance from river to river being not greater.

Judge, then, whether an attack will take place from our army this winter. My sentiments are the reverse.

I am, D'r. Col.,
With esteem, Your humble serv.,
RICH. PLATT.

P. S. My respects to the worthy officers with you. For your comfort I can tell you that old Daddy Putnam is ordered on to the main army, and a trial is inevitable. God speed it.†

General Knox also corroborated the opinion of Major Platt, in regard to the enemy's works; and it is a pity that the strength of the lines was too great, to have permitted an attempt to force him to action. That gentleman writes as follows:

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

Camp White March, 2d December, 1777.

Dear Sir:

It is some time since I had the pleasure to hear from you (I think the "4th November," by Capt. Wool), and which I believe I have never answered, owing to the hurry of business, and want of opportunity. Captain Wool was to have called upon me, but if he did call, I was absent.

I shall wish to see you this winter, in order to know whether there are any regulations necessary to be adopted in the corps of artillery, which I may have omitted in my memorandums.

The enemy have at last got possession of the navigation of the river, altho' they have not yet been able to raise the chevaux de frize: but have found out a new channel between the islands: made by the middle of the river, being stopped by the chevaux de frize.

The defence of Fort Mifflin was as gallant as is to be found in history. Capt.-Lieutenant Treat, one of the most promising and best of young officers, was killed. He had the command of the artillery on the island. Captain Lee has acquired great reputation in the defence of the fort. The last day of the siege, his company suffered much. His first lieutenant, two sergeants, and three privates killed. Nine wounded, some of them mortally. The fire the last day of the siege, exceeded by far, any thing ever seen in America. The enemy had five batteries on Province island of 18s, 24s and 32 pounders at 500 yards distance: Besides these, they brought up by the new channel, the large floating battery which was cut down in New York, mounting 22 twenty-four pounders within forty yards of an angle of the battery on Mud Island. Four sixty-four gun ships within about nine hundred yards, and two forty gun ships. The incessant fire of these, joined with the fire of our floating batteries and gondolas, formed a scene truly picturesque, of the horrors and grandeur of war. The fire began at ten in the morning, and lasted till late in the night. The brave little garrison, then commanded by Major Thayer, of the Rhode Island troops, had but two cannon but what was dismounted. These soon shared the fate of the others: Every body who appeared on the platform were killed or wounded by the musketry from the tops of the ships ; whose yards almost hung over the battery. Long before night, there was not a single palisade left. All the embrazures ruined, and the whole parapet levelled. All the block houses had been battered down some days before. Things being in this situation, the brave garrison finding no kind of shelter, were ordered to evacuate the place : which they did, without any loss, about two o'clock in the morning, having first burnt the barracks, and brought off the stores.

" The enemy have fortified themselves with fourteen strong redoubts, friezed and palisaded with strong abbattis, running from one redoubt to the other. We exceedingly wish them to come out and give us battle; but I believe, that tho' this is an event they threaten, and we wish, it will not happen. So I suppose the time is not far off, when we shall endeavor to get some kind of winter quarters. The men being badly clothed, and in a great manner destitute of blankets, render a winter's campaign impossible.

Please to write me the intended operations on the east side of the river.

I am, my Dear Sir,
Yr. most Hble Servt.
H. Knox.*

Col. Lamb.

The gallantry displayed at Mud Island, particularly by the Artillery, which was from his regiment, was very gratifying to Col. Lamb. But the loss of the officer who commanded it, a very excellent subaltern of his own regiment, was sincerely regretted.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

CHAPTER XIV.

Gates' Apology for Capitulation.—Lamb at Albany.—Letter of Doughty —Lee's Dragoons.—Artillery ordered to the River.—Orders countermanded by Putnam.—Major Meigs's Letter.—Court of Enquiry respecting Loss of Highland Forts.—Artillery again ordered to the River —Lamb to command—to march to Valley Forge.—Oswald's Letter.—Philadelphia evacuated.—Order to march countermanded.—Gates commands in Highlands.—Vexatious Interference.—General Order.—Supercedes the Commander of Artillery.—Remonstrance of Lamb.—Letter to the President of Congress.—Commander in Chief.—Colonel Malcom.—Battle of Monmouth.—Letter of Knox.—Design on New York.—Artillery to White Plains.—Letter to Gov. Trumbull.—Dispute of Rank with Col. Harrison.—Settled in favor of Lamb.

Gen. Gates in his apology for the convention with Burgoyne, had made the loss of the forts in the Highlands, a very prominent consideration to that measure; and Congress seemed to consider the recovery of these, as of the last importance. The Commander in Chief, was therefore informed of the light in which they viewed the repossession of those passes, and Gen. Gates, was clothed with plenary powers to make such dispositions for the defences of the Hudson river, as he thought proper.* Col. Lamb was in command of the artillery on the river, and in order to forward the preparations of his department, he went to Albany,† to hasten the equipments. While there, Gen. Knox passed through Fishkill on his way to Boston, and made a new arrangement of the regiment, by which some companies doing duty with it, were assigned to Proctor's battalion. Four companies of his command were now at head quarters, and Lieut.-Col. Oswald was directed to take the command of them there.‡ These, in the mean time, in the absence of superior officers, were in charge of Capt. Doughty, who had been promoted to the company formerly Hamilton's, and which had been annexed by Gen. Knox to Lamb's regiment. In making his return to his superior officer, Capt. D. mentions an affair not noticed in many of the histories of the time, which, with his reflections thereon, deserve to be extracted.*

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* Journals Congress. † Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. ‡ Idem.

"We have no news at present, and have remained in peace and quietness, except a small alarm we had a few days ago; which I dare say you have heard of before this; but lest you should not, as it is a credit to our arms, I will trespass upon your patience in informing you of it. On the 19th instant, the whole of the enemy's horse, supposed to be near two hundred, after a circuitous march on the preceding night, attempted to surprise, at day-break, a party of our horse, under command of Captain Lee, which forms our most advanced post; but unhappily for these bravadoes, this truly good officer observing their intentions; his retreat being dangerous, betook himself, with the small party then with him, consisting of a sub. sergt. corpl. and six men, to a large store house; and there, by his superior address and bravery, withstood the repeated attacks of so superior a number; and after supporting the conflict for some time, made these gentry relinquish their plan, and retreat with disgrace and confusion; leaving six dead on the field. Capt. Lee's loss was but trifling, none but his lieutenant being wounded.

I assure you, nothing can reflect more honor on the character of a soldier, than Capt. Lee's behavior on this occasion; and when added to his former services, entitle him to the esteem of every soldier; whilst at the same time, it teaches us young soldiers, that it is not numbers that ensure us success; and that a few good, determined fellows, will execute, what a thousand dastardly wretches, would tremble at attempting.

My best wishes for your health, and happiness always attend you. I beg you will make my best respects to Col. Oswald, and believe me with

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

The greatest respect,
Your mo. ob. serv.,
JNO. DOUGHTY.

Park of Artillery, 27th Jan'y, 1778.
COL. JOHN LAMB.

In compliance with orders from head quarters, Col. Lamb dispatched one of his companies to bring to the river certain artillery, near the Connecticut line, which might have been of service in his defences; but he was thwarted in his design by the pertinacity of Gen. Putnam. Col. Meigs, in whose charge the pieces were left, in refusing to permit them to be removed, sent the following excuse:

HARRISON'S PURCHASE, Jan'y 28, 1777 [1778].

Dear Colonel:

I have just received your favor by Capt. Wool, who is arrived with a detachment to remove the artillery. I am sorry to inform you that I have received an order from Gen. Putnam, not to permit the removal of any of the artillery or men without his express order. It seems that the General had intimation of your sending for the artillery. You will excuse me, sir, for detaining them, as I have the General's orders therefor. For my part, I wish they were removed, and have thought of removing them to Stanwich, six miles from Horseneck, where forage may be had for the horses. I have not the least use for the artillery, except the grass hoppers, and am, sir, with esteem,

Your most obed. servant,
RETURN JONA. MEIGS.
Col. Command't.*

Col. LAMB.

Congress having passed a resolve to entrust the fortification and defences of the North River to Governor George Clinton, directed the cannon ordered from Ticonderoga, to be put at the requisition of that officer: and Col. Lamb being called to his family upon some pressing emergency, left the camp at Fishkill for Southington. While there, he received a letter from Brigadier-General Huntington, inviting him to attend a Court of Enquiry at West Point, to investigate the causes of the loss of the Highland Forts. The reasons for his absence continuing, he did not attend the court, and missed the opportunity of seeing Gen. Knox on his return from Boston; who being under pressing orders to return to head quarters, left instructions relative to the department, and announced that Gen. McDougall was to supersede Putnam in the command of the Highlands[†]. That General had hardly assumed his station, when Congress directed Gen. Gates[‡] to Fishkill, with orders to hurry on the fortification of the passes, agreeably to their former resolves. While his brief command lasted, Gen. McDougall dispatched the following letter, which soon brought Col. Lamb to the camp :

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

Head Quarters, April 4th, 1778.

Sir :

I received your favor of the 25th ultimo, respecting the Court of Enquiry. I wish you had attended it, especially as General Huntington advised you of it being to be held.

The state of your Corps, and the public service, requires your attendance and Col. Oswald's, without delay; for I have reason to fear a visit from the enemy very soon. Time will only permit me to add that I am

Your humble servant,

Alex'r McDougall.[§]

Col. Lamb.

Soon after his arrival at Fishkill, he received a letter from Gen. Knox, by Gen. Greene, the Quarter Master General, directing him to make arrangements for the transportation of all the artillery and stores at Farmington, some of the heaviest guns on the river, and the two twenty-four pounders at Albany taken from Burgoyne, to head quarters; and in this letter was an answer to his pressing request to be ordered into field service in the following words : " As it is your desire you are to take command of all the artillery mentioned, and march them to head quarters by such route as Gen.

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[*] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

[†] Idem.

[‡] Journals Congress.

[§] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc

Greene shall point out to you. Major Stephens (Stevens) will command the artillery on the River."*

The utmost dispatch was made to comply with this requisition; and if anything could add celerity to his motions, it was a letter received from Oswald, already with the companies at head quarters, of the following import:

Artillery Park, Camp Valley Forge,
15th May, 1778.

"Our army is now very formidable, but not such as enables Gen. Washington to attack the enemy in Phila. which manœuvre I believe is in contemplation, and will be carried into execution, as soon as we are in a situation to do it. Reinforcements have lately arrived—a few more will give us superiority of our enemy."†

Notwithstanding every effort of Col. Lamb to hasten his departure for camp, unavoidable delays protracted his desire; and while he was sanguine in the hope of being able to share in the intended battle, he received the following letter which effectually put an end to his expectations.

Artillery Park, Valley Forge, 2 June, 1778.

Dear Sir:

The enemy have been for some time past, preparing to evacuate Philadelphia, and we are in hourly expectation of that event taking place. Under this appearance of things, the march of the artillery which you were directed to bring here would be entirely useless.

His Excellency, General Washington, has ordered me to have it halted at some distance from the North river. I think Litchfield would be a proper place for that purpose: But if you have not yet moved it from Farmington, I leave it to you, to halt, either at Litchfield, or Farmington, until further orders.

The enemy intend taking their route through the lower part of the Jersies to South Amboy and Staten Island. Our army will march in different divisions to the North river. His Excellency is somewhat apprehensive that the enemy may have a design to get possession of the passes of the river; and thinks our force there inadequate to prevent effecting it with their whole force. Therefore he wishes the artillery to be at a distance. The artillery from Albany is also to be halted on the east side of the river.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

I am dear sir your
Most Humble servant,
H. Knox.*

Col. Lamb.

General Gates had now taken the command in the Highlands; and if any vexations, or inconvenience had been suffered while Putnam was in power, they were not likely to be decreased during the rule of a commander, more successful in his intrigues with Congress even, than in the field, where he had gathered a harvest he had not sown, in the northern campaign. He had shown little disposition to accommodate Colonel Lamb or the public service; refusing his request that part of one of his companies at Fort Schuyler, might be relieved by a detachment from the corps under Major Stevens at Albany.† The reason assigned for refusal, was avowedly for the purpose of gratifying Major S. in not separating his men by detaching part of them on that service. This gentleman had been appointed a lieutenant-colonel of infantry, 30th April, by brevet, and a subsequent order assigned him to the artillery, on the first vacancy which should occur: and soon after Gates had taken command at Fishkill, a general order was issued by him, appointing Major Stevens, as by order of Congress and with the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief, to the command of the Artillery in the Northern and Middle Department.‡ This appointment of a junior officer, over a superior who had been once designated as commander of artillery over the northern department; and who had exercised the functions of that branch of service with acknowledged ability in the Middle: particularly in favor of one who had been originally considered as belonging to his regiment, could not fail to be extremely unpalatable to Colonel Lamb; and he was therefore not backward in expressing his indignation. He wrote to the President of Congress in the following terms.

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*† Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

‡ Gate's general order.

FARMINGTON, 4 July, 1778.

Honored Sir:

Enclosed you have an extract from Gen. Gates's orders, bearing date the 4th June, by which it appears, that I am superseded in the command of the artillery in the middle department, by an inferior officer.

As I have too high an opinion of the justice of Congress, to suppose that they have designedly cast such unmerited reflection upon me; or would give their sanction to so flagrant an act of injustice; I have (tho' reluctantly) ventured to trouble you on this disagreeable subject, and to request that you will be pleased to honor me, with a line, and enclose me a copy of the resolve, respecting Col. Stevens's appointment.

I am,
Most Respectfully,
Your Honor's
Most ob't servant,
JOHN LAMB.*

Hon'ble JOHN HANCOCK.

He also wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, and to Gen. Knox, remonstrating against the injustice, and was fully resolved to resist the palpable flagrancy of so unmilitary a proceeding.† His disgust at these proceedings, were not lessened on the arrival of Capt. Mott at Farmington, with his company, ordered from Fishkill, to relieve a company stationed there, that they might march to camp, in order to increase the command of Lieut.-Col. Stevens at that place.‡ The following letter to Col. Malcom, Adjutant-General of Gates army, was written on the spur of the last aggression; and is characteristic of a man, jealous of his rights, and resolved to maintain them:

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

‡ Idem.

FARMINGTON, 4 July, 1778.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 25th ult., (per Capt. Mott), came duly to hand; the contents of which, I must confess, astonished me to the last degree. What in the Devil's name, could induce Gen. Gates to order Capt. Mott's company upwards of ninety miles, (to relieve Capt. Buckland's), in extreme hot weather, to the prejudice of their health, and manifest injury to the publick service? Is it because we have too great a number of troops in the American army, and therefore absolutely necessary to take some of them off by murdering them with sickness? No! I do not suppose this to be the reason, but that the General was inclined, partially, to favor Stevens, by collecting his corps together; and thus insult me, by maltreating the officers and soldiers who are under my command.

If he has any particular pique or spleen against me, it would redound much more to his honor, to have manifested it to me personally, than to wreak his resentment against the officers and men. I am no stranger, (I assure you) to Gen. Gates's partiality in favor of Col. Stevens, as it but too evidently appeared, on my application to him, respecting his ordering part of Stevens's corps, to relieve that part of Walker's company, (of my reg't) which are now at Fort Schuyler; this he declined doing, altho' the public service demanded it, (as they were one hundred miles nearer that post), and put me off in the most trifling manner, by saying that Stevens would choose to have his corps together; as if less attention ought to be paid to the application of a superior officer, than to that of an inferior.

I am just now furnished with an extract from general orders of the 4th June, that strikes immediately at me; and by which, I conceive myself insulted in the grossest, and most barefaced manner, viz: "that Lieut.-Col. Ebenezer Stevens, by the direction of Congress, and the approbation of His Excellency, Gen. Washington, is appointed to the command of the artillery of the northern, and middle department." This is the height of absurdity; for it would be ridiculous to suppose that Congress, and Gen. Washington, would give their sanction to a measure so inconsistent with all military rule, and order, as to direct an inferior officer to command a superior; I have written to Congress, and His Excellency, respecting this matter, and have transmitted them a copy of the order. I shall wait their answer before I take any steps in consequence of it.

Good Heavens! if this be the base, and cruel treatment we are to meet with, for sacrificing our property, destroying our health, risquing our lives, and bleeding in the defence of our country; it is high time for every man of spirit, to quit a service, where superior officers may insult with impunity, and where mal-treatment is to be the only reward we are to receive, for bravely doing our duty as officers, and soldiers. I flatter myself, however, that it will not be many days before I shall again act in the line of a private citizen; when I shall dare to call to a severe account, those who have injured or insulted me, let their characters, or rank in life, be what they will. I have not to add, being,

Dear Sir, Yours, &c.,

Col. Malcom. John Lamb.*

The battle anticipated, in public expectation, on the retreat of the British from Philadelphia, had been fought, and Washington was pressing onward for the North River. The hopes which Col. Lamb indulged of sharing in this battle, were disappointed; but next to a successful participation in an action so honorable to the American name; he was gratified by the applause gained by his brother in arms, Oswald, who with Banmans, Doughty, Mansfield, and Bliss's companies of the regiment, performed signal service;† and acquired new claims to the confidence of their superiors; as will appear by the following extract of a letter from Gen. Knox, written some days after the battle:

"19th July, 1778.

I this morning received your favor of the 4th instant; I am very sorry for the circumstances which very justly have given you such disgust; but I hope upon joining the army, they will be all removed to your entire satisfaction. I shall deliver your letter to his Excellency, and that to Col. Oswald: who is one of the best officers of the army, and an acquisition to the corps of artillery. I thank you for your congratulations on the affair of the 28th. Our corps, as usual, did themselves the justice to behave like men, contending in the great cause of liberty and their country."‡

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

‡ Idem.

Another testimony to the merits of Col. Oswald is to be found in a letter of Gen. Lee, of 3d July, 1778, to the Trenton Gazette. "The behavior of the whole, both men and officers, was so equally good, that it would be unjust to make discriminations; though I confess it is difficult to refrain from paying compliments to the artillery, from Gen. Knox, and Col. Oswald, down to the very drivers."

The same letter contained pressing injunctions to hasten on the artillery to White Plains. Col. Lamb lost no time in accomplishing his orders. In obedience to which he wrote to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut in the following terms:*

FARMINGTON, 22d July, 1778.

Sir:

It being his Excellency Gen. Washington's orders, that great part of the artillery at this place be immediately moved to White Plains, and a guard of militia procured for its security on the way. I have thought proper to send the bearer, Lieut. Strachan, to your excellency, to request your ordering one hundred of the militia, (including officers,) for that purpose.

As it is highly probable that Gen. Washington has something serious and important in contemplation, and means to act in conjunction with the French squadron which is now off Sandy Hook; and being apprehensive that his intended operations may be retarded for want of the artillery; I must entreat your excellency, to give the necessary orders for the above mentioned number of militia, to march immediately to this place. I shall be happy to be honored with a line from you, and am, with the greatet respect,

Your Excellency's
Most Obd't. Humb. Serv't.
JOHN LAMB.†

His Excellency, GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Col. Lamb had not reached the Park at camp, before he was apprised that more vexations waited him, growing out of that fruitful source of contention "relative rank."‡ Capt.

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* Lamb papers. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

Mott, with two of his companies, had preceded him by a single day; and was apprised that seniority was claimed by Col. Harrison, of Virginia. This point had been mooted at Valley Forge, and the difficulty was then obviated by regimental musters.* At White Plains, Col. Harrison assumed the same pretensions, and Capt. Mott, who was as jealous of the honor of the regiment as his superior; and was unwilling to establish any precedent against it, neglected to muster his companies at the general parade; receiving from the commanding officer of artillery in the camp, an admonition on the occasion. On the arrival of Col. Lamb, he addressed a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, on the 12th August, requesting that a board of officers might be appointed, to settle the disputed precedence, which could not be immediately accorded, but which afterwards met, and the matter was satisfactorily adjusted in his favor.†

* Lamb papers. † Idem.

CHAPTER XV.

Consequences of the Battle of Monmouth.—Gates Faction.—Meditated Attack on New York.—Confidence of Success.—Letter of Malcom.—Of Secretary of Congress.—Of Gen. Lovel.—Gates's General Order unauthorized.—Oswald resigns.—Camp at White Plains breaks up.—Distress of the Men.—Mott's Letter.—Lamb left in command of the Artillery on the River.—Design on Canada.—Relinquished.—Army concentrated in the Highlands.—Letter of Du Simitiere.—"The Statue."—Lieut.-Col. Stevens appointed to Lamb's Regiment.—Supineness of Congress.—Of the People.—Letter of Gov. Clinton.—Of Sears.—1778, 1779.

The Gates faction were at first extremely elated at the result of the affair of Monmouth, and the consequent arrest of Lee; hoping that the combined influence of both the factious generals, would be sufficient to enable them to triumph over Washington. But the "monster party" had received its death blow in Congress; and the tide of public opinion, received a new and proper impulse, from the bold measures of the commander-in-chief. The star of the northern hero, as his friends were fond of calling him, was no longer lord of the ascendant; and with its wane, began to decline his malignant influence in the army.

When the army took post at White Plains, it was expected that an attack would have been made upon New York, with the coöperation of the French fleet, which had recently arrived at the Hook. But Count D'Estaing, apprehending difficulty in crossing the bar with some of his ships, which were of unusual size, relinquished the design of coöperation, and the attempt on the city was postponed.*

So confident were the hopes of the capture of the metropolis, that it was considered as actually in our possession;

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* Marshall.

and plans were in agitation to prevent the restoration of the lukewarm and loyalist factions, to the supremacy which had exercised such dangerous influence, in 1774, and 1775.

The following letter from Col. Malcom, will exhibit the apprehensions which were felt on the occasion; and the combinations which were relied on, to counterpoise the mischievous influences anticipated.

July 25, 1778.

Dear Sir :

In all human probability, the enemy will soon leave York. That will open a scene, which will require perhaps equal exertions with any that whigs have yet been called to. A thousand stratagems are already formed, to prostrate all the fruits of our toils and dangers. Aristocracy will rear its head, ere our great ones are one week peaceably settled in the metropolis; and Tories, Paracides, of every rank, will be pardoned, countenanced, and protected, to strengthen the hands of that party. It's time to look out. You know there (are) but few, that will take the labouring oar, tho' many that will follow, and shove along. I wish you and Col. Hughes were here. Col. Troup* waits with me to hear from you. I hope you can come; but if anything absolutely prevents, do pray write at large. Converse with H. H. (Col. Hughes); propose, and give us by him, a plan to begin on. Make a catalogue of such men as occur to you, that we may form an early *association*. I will not even suggest to your wise head, because I look to you.

In haste,
Y'rs affectionately,
W. Malcom.

Colonel Lamb.

Another letter from the same gentleman, who had acted for a short time as adjutant-general of Gates's army, will serve to show the negligence which prevailed in the middle department.

*Fort Arnold, Aug. 2, 1778.

Dr Sir :

A few days before I left the camp, I rec'd a packet from you, not a line in it for my perusal. The enclosures were forwarded; and a few days brought me your letter of the 4th ult., which by mistake went to Gen. Knox—no great matter—and I dare say, has had the honor of a reading at head quarters.

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* Gen. Gates's aid.

* This was the name given to the first fortification at West Point.

The Commander-in-Chief being now on the ground, will procure you, I dare say, deliverance from all the grievances complained of in your letter. I lament very much the occasion of them, for a variety of reasons.

On the arrival of the General, I was sent to this command; which I found in just as bad order, as even your imagination can conceive. Will you believe, that there was not one pound of meat in the garrison of any kind; and but two hundred barrels of flour—altho' General Glover told me every thing was complete. If the enemy do come, I shall fight them in the field, which is my only chance. The works are not worth a farthing; but I flatter myself they will never more pass Dobb's Ferry.

I have now some spare time, which I will devote to correspond with my friends. I hope to hear from you when opportunity offers.

I hoped the army would have attempted York when united; but I think there are other objects—perhaps for the best. Great men another year.

My best respects to Mrs. Lamb and family, and believe me, y'rs affectionately,

W. Malcom.*

Colonel Lamb.

Agreeably to the request made to the Commander-in-Chief of the 13th, a board of officers were ordered to assemble to settle the matter in dispute between the two officers of artillery:† and a letter having been written to Gen. Arnold at Philadelphia,‡ requesting him to procure from the records of Congress some information in relation to it, the following letter from the secretary of that body, was received in reply:

Sir:

I return enclosed the letter from Mr. Lamb, with the resolution respecting Col. Harrison's regiment of artillery. It does not appear that the regiment was raised with a view to any particular service. When Gen. Lee was going to the southward to command there, a comp'y of artillery, at his request, was ordered to be raised in Virginia: afterwards another was added. When the regiment was determined on, these two companies were to compose a part of the regiment. I wish the information I give, may settle the matter to the satisfaction of all concerned; and particularly of Col. Lamb, of whom I entertain a high opinion.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem

I am, Sir,
Your humble serv.,
Aug. 29, 1778. CHAS. THOMPSON.*
Gen. ARNOLD.

No answer having been received from the President of Congress in regard to the general order of Gates, superceding Col. Lamb in the command of the artillery; some unpleasant feelings began to arise in his mind, in consequence of the supposed neglect, when a letter arrived from Mr. Lovel, a member of Congress, explaining the cause of the delay.

August 8th, 1778.

Sir:

Mr. Hancock having left Philadelphia, before the arrival of your letters, of July 6, which were delivered to me from the post office, the 4th inst.

I have sent the resolve, passed on the 30th of April, relative to the officer concerning whom, you wrote to Mr. H.

I apprehend this is what the general orders refer to. You will let me know whether it is in my way, to do you any other pleasure, than by inclosing your letter to Mr. H., having already mentioned to him that I should do so.

Your humble serv't,
JAMES LOVEL.†
Col. LAMB.

The resolve above alluded to, was simply to appoint Maj. Stevens, of the artillery, a Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet of infantry; and the assumption of the general order, was wholly the fruit of the arrogance of Gates, and of his overweening partiality for Lieut.-Col. Stevens, combined with some malevolence against Col. Lamb. The consequence of this predilection of Gates for particular officers, had the usual effect of souring the minds of those who happened to be on the shady side of the General's favor, and of exciting strong prejudices against the more fortunate individuals, who enjoyed the sunshine.* This was the case with Col. Lamb, whose feelings had been most outraged on the occasion; and it was not until after active operations in the field, with that excellent officer, and a community of service and danger, which brought them into close contact, that the feelings then produced against Lieut.-Col. Stevens, were wholly removed.†

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

That fruitful cause of dissatisfaction, and contention, the claim of relative rank, threw some of the best officers out of the ranks of service; and Col. Lamb was deprived of his excellent coadjutor, Oswald, who was by some outrageous injustice compelled to resign.‡

Orders were given to prepare for marching, and the army was soon expected to be put in motion. That the situation of the men at White Plains, was something like that at Valley Forge, the preceding winter, will be evinced by the following extract of a letter from Capt. Mott; which at the same time that it exhibits the sufferings of the men, will also illustrate the sympathies of some of those who commanded them:

24 November, 1778.§

"Ten of my men are barefooted, and can not endure the march, unless supplied; therefore, as shoes are to be had at the Clothier-General's store, I think it would be best to draw them from thence immediately. I will be accountable for them, and charge them to the men; as I had rather pay all the money I am possessed of, and finally lose it, than command men on a severe march, when I am sensible they can not do the duty required of them."

While the army was at White Plains, and Col. Lamb at head quarters, there were no conflicting claims of command,

* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

arising out of the general order of Gates, of the 4th June; but upon the determination to go into winter quarters, the following order was issued by Gen. Knox, which effectually established the point in dispute, and put an end to the disagreeable feelings, which the unwarrantable measure of Gen. Gates, had occasioned:

Fredericksburg, 25th Nov. 1778.

Sir:

The principal part of the army, under His Excellency, Gen. Washington, being ordered to cross the Hudson River, to take up winter quarters in the Jersies, among which are the park of artillery, and myself; you will remain on this side, as commanding officer of artillery. There will be two companies of your battalion, and one of Col. Cranes, stationed with the troops at Danbury; three companies of Col. Cranes's, with the troops under Gen. McDougall, in, and about the Highlands; and one company of Lieut.-Col. Stevens, and one of Col. Proctor's, at Forts Arnold, and Constitution, on the river."

You will please to be particular, in not granting, or recommending either officers or men, for furloughs, except on pressing emergencies. Some operations which may probably be undertaken in the course of the winter, render this hint necessary."

Col. Lamb.*

The *hint* above alluded to, in all probability, referred to a plan of the Commander-in-Chief, to make an attempt upon the passes by Lake Champlain, into Canada; and against the forts on the lakes, during the winter.† But this plan was absorbed in the gigantic scheme of a campaign, which had been concocted in Congress, without consulting the Commander-in-Chief, or any other military officer, and which was based upon the visionary hope and expectation, that the British intended to evacuate the country, and abandon the contest. When this project of the Congress, which assumed that the war for defence was ended, and a new one for conquest, had become expedient, was disclosed to Washington; his sagacity immediately perceived the baseless fabric of the design, and he exerted all his influence to persuade its projectors to abandon it. This was done with extreme difficulty. The greater undertaking being relinquished, the lesser was not executed, and the movements of the enemy, rendered necessary, a concentration of the army near the passes of the Highlands.*

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Marshall.

Among the friends and correspondents of Colonel Lamb, was a French gentleman, named Du Simitiere,† who had taken up the occupation of a miniature painter, and who was a great antiquary, virtuosi, and collector of curiosities ; and it is even said that his cabinet formed the basis of Peale's Museum, and his collections, that of the Historical Society of Philadelphia. This gentleman was the translator into French of the manifesto of Congress to the Canadians, at the invasion under Montgomery, and he happened to be in Philadelphia when the British took possession, where he remained after the evacuation. As the correspondence of one friend with another, is illustrative of the characters of both ; and as one of the letters which passed between them had some relation to forgotten facts, it is inserted entire.

My dear Sir :

It is now two years, since I have been deprived of the pleasure of seeing you ; and the hope of meeting with you again soon, joined with an unaccountable aversion to letter writing, have been the only causes, of your not hearing directly from me : which I must acknowledge, might appear at first, negligence, but it is far from being the case. I still, and shall ever, retain for you the same sincere attachment and regard, contracted by a friendship of so many years standing : and I please myself, with the thought, that you still continue me a share of your affection.

As often as opportunities have occurred, I have not failed of inquiring very particularly after you ; and was much concerned to hear you had been wounded at Danbury. If it is your fate to be wounded in every action your are engaged in you share that fate with very great men: Among the rest, the famous Mareschal De Rantzau; who had an epitaph made for him, which for its brevity I insert here for your amusement.

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* Marshall. † Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

> Du corps du grand Rantzau, tu n'as qu'une des pars;
> L'autre moitié resta, dans les plaines de Mars:
> Il dispersa, partout, ses membres et sa gloire;
> Tout abbattu qu'il fut, il demeurra vainqueur:
> Son sang fut en cent lieux, le prix de sa victoire,
> Et Mars ne lui laissa rien d'entier, que le cœur.

Translation.

> A remnant, here, of mighty Rantzau lies!
> The rest lie bleaching on the battle plain:
> Where, in his num'rous toils and victories,
> He left his members, amid heaps of slain,
> Each triumph, cost his martial frame a part,
> And left entire, alone, the warrior's heart.

This is very brilliant, but in my opinion, it is acquiring glory, at a very dear rate; may you my dear friend, continue in the field of honor, at somewhat less expence; for the sake of yourself, your family, and friends.

I find the catastrophe of my imprisonment, and its disagreeable circumstances, had reached your ears. I would willingly give you a particular account of this unfortunate passage of my life, but it is attended with such concentration of particular events; the recital of which, would be very long, and far exceed the bounds of a letter; and perhaps prove tedious reading after all; that therefore, I shall content myself to inform you, that I was put in prison soon after the British took possession of this city; some of my papers siezed by the Town Major; my apartment locked up, and the key and papers, carried to the Commandant, Lord Cornwallis. My confinement lasted three weeks, and three days; during which time I suffered a variety of hardships, and much anxiety, especially as I could not well learn the cause of my imprisonment, only in general, for my having transacted business for Congress: Being a dangerous person, unfriendly to government—of republican principles, &c., &c.: Nor did the letters I wrote to several, avail any thing. However, at last, by the intercession of an old friend of mine, to some persons in power, I was restored to my liberty, without ever having been examined, interrogated, or even asked a single question. My key and my papers were returned to me, and my room was never searched, nor even opened during the whole time of my being confined. But notwithstanding I was thus liberated, I was not for many months afterwards, without fear of another arrest. I had beside, a world of difficulties to struggle with. In the spring I met with some employment among the officers of the British army ; but that lasted but a little while, for as soon as Lord North's speech came over, their thoughts were all turned upon it : and soon after, the orders for the heavy baggage to be put on board was the first signal of their departure ; which they effected at last in the quietest manner imaginable. They did not go away, they vanished, to the great joy of every friend of America.

It would be in vain to attempt to give you an account of the devastation they committed in the environs of the city, indiscriminately, on whig and tory property : but am very certain, that you would not know them again. The persecution that numbers of worthy citizens underwent, from the malice of the tories, the tyranny of the police on all those they supposed to be friends to the liberties of America ; all these, would fill up a volume. To describe to you the luxurious way of living of the officers of that army, cooped up within their lines, for several months : Their gambling, plays, balls, gallantries, &c. &c. ; and to conclude, to describe the entertainment given by them to their General Howe, (which they called Meschianza) would hardly be worth while, and not in my power to do : Let it suffice, that they staid here near nine months without doing anything towards their pretended conquest of the country, and at last, went away to the place from whence they came ; but did not reach it so numerous, as when they left the city, having met with rubbers on their way thither ; and there I shall leave them.

As to the transactions here, since the time that this city returned into the hands of its lawful possessors, I could inform you of nothing more than what you have long since seen in our papers.

I shall now return to my little affairs. As you have seen above, I was fortunate enough to save my collection, which has greatly increased, since you was here; and to which, by the assistance of a few acquaintances, I am adding now and then something to; and as I have a whole house to myself, and a very good apartment for it, it appears with much greater advantage, and is more commodiously seen, than ever it was before. How happy would I be, to see you in my hermitage! From you, my dear friend, I have received many valuable additions to my cabinet; and it is very unlucky that as I am lately informed by Col. Oswald, the fragment of the statue,* which he told me you sent me last summer twelve months, has never come to my hands; nor any letter from you, if you have wrote any, which is a great disappointment. The above gentleman informs me, that he thinks most of the statue is preserved still in some part of the eastward.† If that is the case, it might perhaps be possible for you, to procure another piece at some future time. He told me that the piece you sent me, was some of the locks of hair. Now we had a report here formerly, that the whole head had been found by the enemy at Fort Washington; and another account said, that it was found near Harlem; but it seems that all this is not true, since you had some of the hair, which undoubtedly grew upon some part of the head.

I have been positively assured, that the sword has been seen in this city the winter before last; but I could never discover in whose possession it was. Since I am on this topic, I can not avoid reminding you of a promise you have been so obliging as to make me, from time to time, of your collections of manuscript, in the time of the Stamp act, at New York. These would indeed be a very valuable acquisition, and fill up a chasm in my repository; having none but printed papers of that period. May I beg the favor of you to fulfill your promise, by sending these papers to me by some gentleman of your army coming this way, which happens very frequently. I must conclude this article, by letting you know, that my collection is very deficient of New York papers in general; I mean newspapers, hand bills, and all kinds of other political publications; especially of last year and this; as I have nobody there that sends them to me, and gather only a few now and then here. While I lived with the worthy Mr. Ph. Livingston, he always gave me the papers he received from thence. He died, much regretted at Yorktown, last spring, in the faithful discharge of his trust to his injured country; and I have much lamented his loss; he was a good patron of mine. If it falls in your way to collect any papers, new or old, send them to me, I beg of you.

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* This undoubtedly alludes to one of the two statues erected on the repeal of the Stamp Act; and probably to the leaden statue of the King, placed in the Bowling Green, which was pulled down on receiving the news of the Declaration of Independence in July, 1776, and cast into balls for the use of the Patriot Army. If so, it is difficult to conceive how a *fragment* of it could have been in the possession of Lamb, who was at the time of its prostration, a prisoner at Quebec; unless he had tried the temper of his sword on the saturnine effigy of royalty, previous to his march to the North: an exploit which, as an inflexible republican, he was very likely to have performed.

† "At the breaking out of the war, this statue was overthrown, and lead being highly valuable, was sent to Gen. Wolcott's, at Litchfield, for safe keeping, where, in process of time, it was cut up and run into bullets by his daughters and their friends. An account of the number of cartridges made by each, is still preserved among the family papers.' *Gibbs' Administrations Washington and Adams, from the Wolcott papers*

I shall now take my leave of you for the present, and hope that I shall soon receive some lines from you. It 'll be a great satisfaction to me, to hear that you are in good health; and my warmest wishes I tender to you, for its continuation.

My insignificance is so great here, that I can hardly presume to offer my services, in what you might have occasion of, but this I can sincerely assure you, that it would be the greatest pleasure to me, to give you some proofs of the sincere esteem, and unfeigned friendship, with which I remain,

Dear Sir,
Your most affectionate &
most obedient, humble servant,
Du Simitiere,
in Fourth street, near the Academy.

Philad'a, November 24th, 1778.

Col. Lamb.

P. S. I inclose this letter, under cover of His Excellency, the Governor of your State, as I am not certain of your place of residence.*

Gen. Gates had been ordered to the command at Boston, and the companies under Lieut.-Col. Stevens, had been consolidated with Crane's regiment; but notwithstanding this order, Stevens, by some means contrived to maintain a separate command, until he was transferred to Lamb's regiment.†

That officer, who, by a resolve of Congress, had been made Lieutenant-Colonel of Artillery, to rank from the date of his brevet, and entitled to service at the next vacancy, was assigned to Lamb's regiment, to supply the place of Lieut.-Col. Oswald, who had resigned his command; and accordingly, Stevens joined that part of the corps, at the park at head quarters.*

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* Lamb papers, Journals Congress, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

The dream of Congress, that the war of defence was ended, seemed to have been infectious, and the people at large were falling into the same delusion.† So little energy was exhibited in the prosecution of the public business, that the Legislature of New York, which had been ordered to assemble on the 8th January, had not, twelve days after that period, gathered in sufficient numbers, to form a quorum for business. Gov. Clinton, whose sagacity, like that of Washington, could not be blinded to the alarming apathy which prevailed, deplored this supineness of the people, in a letter to Col. Lamb, in the following terms:

Poughkeepsie, 20 January, 1779.

"Our Legislature were to have met at this place on the 8th instant, but a sufficient number of members have not yet appeared, to proceed on business; when there will, God only knows. So little attention is paid to the public weal, by the guardians of the rights of the people, as to discourage me, more than I can well express."

I am, Dr Sir, in the utmost haste,
Your Most Obed't Serv't,
Geo. Clinton.‡

Col. Lamb.

Nor were these gloomy apprehensions without cause; the dissensions in Congress, artfully fomented by the intrigues of the British commissioners; and the general yearning for peace, occasioned by the opening of negotiations, had paralized the public mind to an alarming degree. Another patriotic friend,‡ viewed the perilous crisis, with equal alarm; and although he was removed from the dangers of the war, in the peaceful pursuits of his former occupation, he was yet awake to the evil auguries of the time, and expressed his fears as follows:

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* Journal Congress.

† Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. ‡ Idem.

Boston, January 18, 1779.

Dear Sir:

In looking over the late newspapers, I read the piece of Silas Deane, and Common Sense's answer, which was very alarming to me, when I consider the fate of this country depends on the virtue of its representatives. I have, within these few days past, met with something more alarming. I am informed, by a gentleman of veracity, that G. M.,* from your state, declared himself in the following words, just before he was chosen a member of Congress: "I thank God, we in this state, have the keys of the thirteen United States, in our own hands, and it is in our power, to give them up to the King of Great Britain, if they will not secure to us, those lands that are so justly claimed." The majority of the members of Congress, are truly worthy of great veneration; but remember the fate of Cato's virtuous Senate. For God's sake, let us be on our guard; and if we have any incendiaries among us, find them out." The gentleman who made the above declaration, is ready to make oath to the same, if called on before Congress, whose name will be given up, if requested.

I am, Sir,
Your Obed't H'ble Serv't,
Isaac Sears.†

Col. John Lamb.

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* Gouverneur Morris.—This, in all probability, was one of the thousand rumors, circulated by the British, to scatter dissensions among the patriots.

† Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

CHAPTER XVI.

Appointed Surveyor of Ordnance.—Dispute of Rank with Col. Crane.—Correspondence with Gen. Parsons.—Verplanck's, and Stoney Point taken.—Probability of an Attack on West Point.—Alacrity of the Militia.—Ordered to West Point.—Stoney Point Stormed.—Design on Verplanck's, fails.—Relative Rank with Crane decided against him.—Tenders his Resignation to Washington.—Not accepted.—Washington's Letter.—Gov. Clinton's Letter.—Appeals to Congress.—Continues in Command.—Camp Rumors.—Letter of Col. Carrington.—Gen. Parsons prevents Recruits to Artillery.—Ordered by Washington to desist.

It was not until the opening of the year, that Congress seemed to rouse themselves from torpor, and seriously began to prepare for the approaching campaign.* Col. Lamb, then on furlough, had been called to camp by Gen. McDougall, and after dispatching some special business of his department, again resumed his leave of absence. Before this had expired, he received a commission from the war office, appointing him, on the 6th March, Surveyor of Ordnance, and he immediately assumed the duties of that station.†

While yet at home, he received a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, apprising him of his intention, to order a board of general officers, to assemble, in order to settle the claims of rank of the colonels of artillery, which had not yet been fully adjusted. Agreeably to this order, he transmitted to head quarters, a detail of his pretensions of seniority, which according to the resolves of Congress, and former precedents in the army, he deemed sufficient to establish his claims.‡

Community of service, had brought on a friendship with Major Samuel Shaw, aid-de-camp to the general of artillery; and in an official communication in regard to Col Lamb's recent appointment, that gentleman closed, by some remarks upon the aspect of public affairs:

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* Marshall. † Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. ‡ Idem.

Artillery Quarters, Pluckemin,
15th March, 1779.

"I congratulate you on the present promising aspect of our public affairs, arising from the friendly disposition of many respectable European powers. All things, will no doubt, go well with our Israel at last. It was to be wished, however, she would render herself more worthy of the blessings in store for her.

People are much divided in their opinion, respecting the operations of the present year. Whether we shall have a campaign or not, seems with some a question. I wish the conjectures may not have an undue influence on our preparations, and betray us into an error. At all events, we ought to be ready; it will do us no harm. To be in a condition of sustaining a war properly, is one of the surest means of procuring an advantageous peace.

I am dear Colonel,
Your affectionate Friend and humb. Servt.
S. Shaw.*

Col. Lamb.

Movements began to exhibit themselves on the part of the enemy, which caused the camp at Peekskill, to be on the alert. An express from General McDougall, to Gov. Trumbull at Hartford, left a letter for Col. Lamb, which induced him, without delay, to repair to the North river.† For sometime the enemy so masked their designs, that they could not be penetrated; and head quarters, and the river camp, were equally at fault, with regard to their destination.‡ Understanding that the board of officers to decide the question of relative rank, were to assemble at Pluckemin, Col. Lamb went to that place, to prefer his claims; and remained there, until after Stoney Point, and Fort Fayette, at Verplanck's, were taken by the enemy.§

Some rumors, prejudicial to the reputation of Gen. Parsons, then at West Point, having gained currency; he surmised that they had been countenanced by Col. Lamb; and consequently, he wrote to him for explanation; to which letter he received the following reply :

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

PLUCKEMIN, 21st May, 1779.

Sir :

Yours of the 29th April, I received a few days since, in which you mention, your having been informed that I have propagated reports, prejudicial to your reputation.

With respect to your conduct to the inhabitants below the lines, I do not recollect that I ever heard any body charge you with plundering, or doing them the least injury; nor have I ever heard that you was suspected of holding correspondence, or trading with the enemy; and altho' I shall ever presume to speak freely of the misconduct of men who act in public character; I am ever cautious of reporting any thing to the prejudice of others, unless I have it in my power to prove the facts, either from my own knowledge, or the testimony of others, in whose veracity I can confide.

In regard to one of the charges which you mention, "that of having employed a number of soldiers on board a private vessel of war;" the matter stands thus. Sometime in May, 1778, Lieut. Waring, of Capt. Lockwood's company, complained to me at West Point, of the severity of his duty; owing to your having furloughed Capt. Lockwood, Lieut. Brewster, a sergeant, and four men, for the purpose of cruizing in the sound, on board of a galley, in which he said, you were deeply concerned.

As this complaint was made to me at a time when that post was liable to be attacked by the enemy; I conceived it a duty which I not only owed the public, but my own reputation, to make immediate application to Gen. McDougall, requesting he would order Lockwood, and Brewster, with the men under their command, to join the company without delay. This application was made officially, and I do not know that I have mentioned it to any other person. It is probable, however, that I may have spoken of it to some of my officers, as the matter was no secret; it having been frequently mentioned by them to me.

I flatter myself, that you will do me the justice to believe, that as I value my own reputation above every other consideration; so I shall ever be cautious, how I report any thing to the prejudice of another man's character, without good foundation; and that I will not deny, any thing I have said.

If you conceive yourself injured by any thing that I have said or done, I shall ever be ready to give you that satisfaction, which a gentleman, and a soldier, has a right to demand from me.*

I am, Sir, your humble serv't,
JOHN LAMB.†

Brig. Gen. PARSONS, West Point.

Arnold, while in command at Philadelphia, was concerned in privateers equipped from the Delaware, and it was thought derogotory to a military commander to engage in such enterprizes; but it does not appear that his cotemporary, although a native of the same state, suffered much from this transaction.

On the news of the loss of Verplanck's Point, Col. Lamb hastened to Fishkill from whence he wrote the following letter to General Knox :

FISHKILL, 6 June, 1779.

Dear General :

It is impossible at present, to penetrate the designs of the enemy : By the best intelligence that can be had from deserters, (a number of which come out daily) their main body now lies at Verplanck's Point, from whence, it will be impracticable to dislodge them : Their advanced picket is at Lent's Home, two miles from the Point.

The greatest part of their ships, have gone down below Tappan Bay : Some of the deserters who have come in today, say that a report prevailed in their camp, that a considerable reinforcement had arrived at New York ; and that the ships had gone down for the purpose of bringing them up the river. This I believe to be no more than camp news, and (as is but too common) the lie of the day. As a supply of at least sixty barrels of powder is wanted for the gairrson of Fort Arnold, and as there is no prospect of procuring it in time from Boston ; I wish you would order that quantity, to be brought forward immediately from Colonel Ford's Mills, near Morristown. Mr. Ruddock has sent expresses to Springfield, and Boston for powder, lead, and musket cartridge paper, but all that he can obtain in answer to his application, is, that no teams can be procured to bring these articles forward. This has been the situation of matters in that department, from November last : to whom this neglect is owing, I cannot possibly determine, but it is extremely chagrining, to see the public suffering by the partial politics of some states ; who pay no attention but to their own particular interests. I forgot to mention the great want of musket cartridge paper, which must be had from the southward if possible.

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* The readiness with which the *amende militaire*, was tendered, was in strict conformity with the chivalric notions, which prevailed at that time to a great extent, in the army. The same weakness, at a later day, deprived the country of one of its greatest ornaments; who braved certain death, rather than incur the suspicion of being wanting in a qualification, of which he had on all occasions, given the most unequivocal proofs. When will reason, religion, humanity, and common sense, get the better of the false principles of the code of honor.

†Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that the militia of this state, have turned out in the most exemplary manner. His Excellency the Governor, informs me, that he has upwards of two thousand from the county of Dutchess alone. This is a very pleasing circumstance ; and which I flatter myself, will produce the happiest consequences, should the enemy incline to attack us. I have now to add, but my compliments to Major Shaw ; and am with the greatest respect,

Dear General,
Your Ob't. Humble Serv't.
JOHN LAMB.*

BRIGADIER GEN. KNOX,
Pluckemin.

The British General continuing to make demonstrations on the North river, Washington resolved to be prepared to meet him at all points, and turned his attention to the forts in the Highlands, which were considered of the first importance to his plan of operations ; and had approached his camp within covering distance, of these posts. At the same time, he caused the following letter to be written.†

NEW WINDSOR, 29 June, 1779.

Dear Colonel :

His Excellency, General Washington, considering the great importance to this continent of the posts at West Point, and the absolute necessity, that the artillery on which the defence of these posts must ultimately depend, should be in the best order, and under the direction of an officer of rank and ability ; has directed me to desire you to repair to that place, and take the command of the artillery there. Many things are wanted for the ordnance, and I have directed Capt. Post, after sending the work he has on hand to New Hackensack ; or where the ordnance stores are, to repair with his company to West Point, to execute such ordnance work, as the commanding officer shall direct.

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* Lamb papers.

† Marshall.

Lieut. Burbeck's company, is not attached to any brigade. I wish them to be sent to the posts at West Point.

I am dear Colonel,
Your Humble serv't,
H. Knox.*

As soon as the public service would permit, Col. Lamb took the command at West Point ; but his time was divided between that post and Fishkill, in the prosecution of the duties of his department.

The Commander-in-Chief, now meditated a simultaneous attack on the lower posts ; and detached a force under Wayne against Stoney Point, while two brigades under McDougall, should threaten Verplanck's, on the eastern side. Wayne was instructed to carry the fort with the point of the bayonet, and to turn the guns of the captured fortress, upon the vessels of the enemy, and upon the garrison on the other side of the river. The storm of Stoney Point, was perfect ;† and the ships were driven down the river : but the party under McDougall, not being supplied with ammunition for their battering train, were not in a situation to sieze the favorable moment for attack, and lost the opportunity to capture the place :‡ for the British General, immediately advanced a heavy force across the Croton, and frustrated the enterprise. This misfortune compelled Washington to abandon his conquest,§ and retire to his former position in the Highlands.

In this brilliant affair of Wayne, Col. Lamb had the pleasure to rejoice in the share of the glory gained by two of his gallant associates in the storm of Quebec, Febiger and Meigs; whose regiments were engaged in the enterprise, and both behaved with distinguished bravery.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Marshall. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

The board of officers now took up the disputed question of rank, between Col. Lamb and his competitors. Upon the terms of the resolves of Congress, directing that the Continental commissions, should take precedence of those issued by State authority; and in virtue of former precedents, he had a right to expect a determination in his favor; but to his mortification and surprise, the descision was otherwise; and Col. Crane was preferred before him. He had asked that Lieut.-Col. Stevens, whose personal knowledge would have strengthened his claims, might be examined before the board, which was refused; and feeling very sore at this degradation of rank, he was induced to tender his resignation; which he did at the close of a letter on military business to the Commander-in-Chief, in the following words:

Fishkill, 12th August, 1779.

"As I conceive myself greatly injured by the Board of General Officers, appointed to settle the rank of the officers of the artillery; I must beg your Excellency's permission to resign. This step, I can with great truth assure your Excellency, I take with the greatest reluctance; after making such sacrifices of time, health and property, as I have done by being in the service.

I shall ever retain the most grateful sense, of your Excellency's tenderness and attention to me, respecting my appointment to the regiment, at a time when I was neglected by the public, from being a prisoner with the enemy.

Wishing your Excellency every species of earthly felicity, and a succession of honors, I beg leave to subscribe myself,

Your Excellency's
Most Ob'd. Hum. Serv.
John Lamb.*

His Excellency,
Gen. Washington.

This letter was followed by an answer from head quarters, which after noting the matters of business contained in the letter of resignation, closes as follows:

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

West Point, August the 13, 1779.

"I sincerely wish your letter had been upon no other, than the subject above. It pains me much, to find an officer of your rank and merit, soliciting a resignation; and I would willingly hope, upon further consideration, that you will decline your application. Your good sense, and judgment, will not permit me to expostulate with you, or to use any persuasions upon the occasion; but you will remember, sir, that the resignation of every good officer, especially if he is of high rank, is attended with great injury to the public. They not only experience an injury in the loss of his individual services, but the example has an unhappy and pernicious influence. And your case, too, has been decided by a very respectable board of officers, fully possessed of all the circumstances of yours, and Col. Crane's services; and who could have nothing in view, but substantial justice to either party. I repeat my wishes, that you will decline your application; but if you finally determine to persevere in it, you will be pleased to make it to Congress, as I have not of late accepted the resignation of any Colonel.

I feel myself very sensibly obliged, by the terms in the conclusion of your letter, which are so personally interesting, and am,

With great respect and esteem,
Sir, your most ob'd. servant,
Go. Washington.*

Col. Lamb.

The body of this letter is in the hand writing of Col. Harrison, the aid-de-camp and secretary; but the concluding sentence is in the hand of Washington himself.

This circumstance, and the paternal character of the epistle generally, drew from Col. Lamb the following rejoinder :

Fishkill, 19 Aug., 1779.

Sir :

As I was at Fredericksburgh on public business, when your Excellency's favor of the 13th instant reached this place, it did not come to hand until last evening, which will I presume, apologize for my not answering it sooner.

I am extremely sorry to be under the necessity of taking any step, that can possibly excite pain in your Excellency's generous mind; or that may have the most distant tendency to injure the cause in which I have been embarked for a series of years, from the most disinterested motives. But, sir, you must allow that it is impossible for a soldier, who is tenacious of his honor, (the only jewel worth contending for) to suffer himself to be degraded, by being superseded; and his just right torn from him, and given to another, without resenting the cruel injury, in a becoming manner. I must frankly acknowledge, that my sensibilities are deeply wounded by this event; and your Excellency, can much better conceive my feelings, than I can possibly describe them.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

When I examine the general order of the 10 September last, and observe the principles there laid down by the committee of arrangement for settling the rank of the army; which is confirmed by a subsequent resolution of Congress of the 28th November; I must confess, I am at a loss to conceive on what principle the board have decided in favor of Col. Crane: and it appears to me, that they have in this instance, manifestly deviated from the principles established by the board of officers of the whole line.

I wish to be indulged with a sight of the proceedings of the board, for which purpose I will do myself the honor to wait on your Excellency to-morrow. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's
Most ob'd. humb. serv.,
John Lamb.*

His Excellency,
Gen. Washington.

Among other friends to whom he communicated his griefs, Col. Lamb wrote to Gov. Clinton, and received from him the following reply:†

Po'keepsie, 26th Aug., 1779.

Dear Sir:

I received your letter, the moment I was setting out to meet the legislature at Kingston, or I should have answered it sooner.

I perfectly agree with your other friends, that you ought to appeal from the determination of the board of general officers, to the justice of Congress, respecting your rank; and it is my opinion that you can not with propriety resign, until this shall prove ineffectual. I am sensible your situation is a delicate one; but it might equally subject you to censure, to quit the service without first pursuing the proper measures to obtain redress, as to continue in it, after a degradation of rank.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

I enclose you a letter to the President of Congress, mentioning your case, and requesting him to interest himself, in obtaining a speedy, and equitable decision. This letter, you will either forward, or retain, according to your final determination on the subject.

I shall be happy, whenever it is in my power, to serve you, and am, d'r sir,

With great regard,
Your most ob'd. serv.,
Geo. Clinton.*

Col. Lamb.

In conformity to this suggestion, Col. Lamb addressed a memoir to Congress, from which the following is extracted :†

West Point, 3d September, 1779.

Sir :

"It is to the honorable the Congress, sir, and to them only, that I must look for redress, and that justice, which the board have denied me. And as it is a matter in which I am deeply interested, and of the utmost importance to my happiness; I flatter myself, that the honorable the Congress, will be so indulgent as to pardon my troubling them on so disagreeable a subject. And I have to request, that they will please to direct, that the operations of this decision of the board of general officers, be suspended 'til I can be favored with a hearing; either before Congress, or a committee appointed by them for that purpose.

As it is more than probable, that the operations of the campaign, may require my presence in the field 'til the close of it, I thought it most consistent with my duty, to make the application in this manner: and shall esteem myself highly honored to be favored with a line on the subject.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's
Most ob'd., hum. serv.,
John Lamb.‡

His Excellency,
John Jay, Esq.

Col. Lamb, after preferring his petition to Congress, continued in the discharge of the functions of his command; which was in truth, no sinecure; as much irregularity existed in the laboratories in the eastern towns. The severity of these duties, brought on a painful attack of illness, which prevented him from meeting the Commander-in-Chief at West Point.* He received exhilarating news in a letter of 13th Sep., from Gen. Knox, informing him of the appearance of a French fleet off the Hook; and the strong probability of an advance of our army on New York; but this news proved to be fabricated, and was contradicted a few days after,† in a letter from Lieut. Col. Carrington; and another rumor, equally as fallacious, substituted in its stead†. As a sample of these, the letter of Col. Carrington is given at length.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

New Windsor, Sept. 23, 1779.

D'r Col.

The bearer brings you a letter from Gen. Knox, which I was requested to forward you immediately. He will also deliver you the tables of Mortar practice, which you was kind enough to lend me; all except the one, on which you noted I might retain. Those tables, I have copied, and send them back, accompanied by one which Major Bauman gave me for you.

A report prevailed yesterday of the evacuation of the Posts at Kings Ferry, and may probably have reached you. However, we learn this morning that it was premature. We have it also, that some prisoners who have escaped from New York, report that a few days ago, intelligence had come to Sir Harry, that a French or Spanish fleet was off the coast of Georgia; in consequence of which, orders were immediately dispatched to call the troops lately embarked back again. By this I think we may learn that they were destined for the southward. This wretch seems much embarrassed! frustrated in his views on all hands! But what can he do? Alass! how are the mighty fallen.

We also hear, that a party of the enemy near Croton, was taken yesterday, consisting of one hundred and fifty. Only a report.

I am yours sincerely,
Ed. Carrington.‡

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

These rumors were constantly occurring, as every deserter, many of them concealed spies, devised that which would be likely to ensure him the most favorable reception.

A general order had been issued to authorize the recruiting of men of the State lines, enlisted for a term, to be enrolled into the continental service, during the war. And as it was understood, that a number of those of the Connecticut line, were willing to join the artillery upon those conditions, orders were given to fill up the companies of Lamb's regiment from those corps.* This design was for a while frustrated by Gen. Parsons, who pretended that infantry companies only were to be thus filled.† Col. Lamb therefore made a representation at head quarters, of this vexatious interference, and the Commander-in-Chief directed Gen. Parsons to withdraw his opposition; upon which no further molestation was experienced from that quarter; and the recruiting officers detached, proceeded to fill up the skeleton companies, and put them in a formidable condition for service.‡

The posts at Stoney Point, and Verplanck's, at last, were abandoned by the enemy. The Commander-in-Chief ordered them to be put in an efficient situation for defence, and preparation to receive a garrison. The news at camp seemed to indicate an advance to the city,§ and it appears that the situation of the men in the Highlands, during the campaign of 1779, was not dissimilar in regard to clothing, to their condition during the preceding winters.|| Col. Lamb was frequently distressed by the complaint of his officers, and one in particular, who had endured with him, the hardships, and misfortunes of the Canadian expedition, wrote thus:

West Point, 11th Oct., 1779.

"The distressed situation of the men for want of clothes, is deplorable. There are sixteen of them almost naked, and bare footed. I had only one pair of shoes for forty-five men, at the last drawing. There are three, or four coats, in the company, and about as many shoes, and stockings. It is my duty to represent the above circumstances, to you; being the only person that can remedy these evils.*

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem. || Idem.

Col. Lamb now received the following instructions from Gen. Knox:

New Windsor, 22 Novem'r 1779.

Dear Sir:

"You will please to examine the different posts, at and near West Point, and direct the number and size of the cannon, and quantity of ammunition, which shall be put into each, respectively, that is finished for their reception, according to an arrangement made by Generals McDougall, Du Portail, and myself, and approved by His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief; a copy of which is given to you. It is also necessary that you should examine whether the posts at Verplanck's, and Stoney Points, are finished for the reception of the cannon, designed for them. If they are prepared, or when they shall be, you will direct the cannon, which has been pointed out to you, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition, (about twenty-five or thirty rounds for each piece, with a sub, and fifteen or twenty men to manage them.) The artillery men of the garrison, will consist of Moodies, Walker's, and Fleming's companies, of your battalion; and Sewell's, Dinnel's, Wells', and Burbeck's companies, of the 3d battalion."

"After you have performed these services, you will please take upon you, the duties of the office of Surveyor of the Ordnance of the United States, to which you were appointed by the board of war and ordnance. You will receive particular instructions from them and me, on the subject.†

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

CHAPTER XVII.

Derangement of Quarter-Master's Department.—Depot at Litchfield.—Congress neglect.—Ordered to Springfield.—Letter of the Secretary of the Board of War.—Report of Surveyor.—Distress of the Army.—Depreciation of Currency.—Exorbitant Prices of Necessaries.—New Organization of Artillery.—Recommended by Gen. Knox.—Referred to Lamb from Department of War.—Lamb against it.—Adopted.—Demonstrations against the Highlands.—Ordered to West Point.—Affair of Springfield.—Concentration near West Point.—Defect of Transportation.

Great inconvenience had been experienced in all parts of the public service, in consequence of the distance between Springfield and Farmington, the principal depots and laboratories for the army, and the North River; and much time had been lost in the transportation of munitions of war, from those remote places. Col. Lamb, had early in 1778, called the attention of the head of the artillery department, to this subject,* and recommended the establishment of a depot, and laboratory, at Litchfield, in Connecticut, as a place from which supplies could be sent in every direction, with greater facility, and despatch, than from the present arsenals.

Although the opinion of Gen. Knox, coincided with that of his subordinate, nothing was done by Congress, to alter the existing arrangements. As soon as Gen. Gates had assumed the command in the Highlands, Col. Lamb addressed a letter to him,† reiterating the arguments previously advanced, and urged upon him, the great importance of the measure; to this, no answer was received, and the public service continued to suffer, for the want of a place of deposit, more central, and more convenient to the Hudson River. The loss of time was not the only inconvenience occasioned by

* Lamb papers, N Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

these remote positions. They were so far removed from the scrutiny of the war department, that great remissness in the execution of the necessary orders, had crept in; and at a very important period, when the enemy were expected to bend their whole force on the Highland passes, much inconvenience, and even danger, was occasioned by the neglect in forwarding the necessary *materiel* for defence.* The board of war, on the 6th March, had commissioned Col. Lamb, as surveyor of the ordnance, and he had served in that capacity, until, on the threatened attack on West Point, he had been ordered to the command of that post.† But Congress had made very slender provision for the extraordinary expenses of that department; and Gen. Knox had written to the board of war on the subject, but had received an answer, so little satisfactory, that he communicated the result of his enquiry to Col. Lamb as follows:‡

MORRISTOWN, 29 Dec'r, 1779.

Dear Colonel:

I have this moment received from the board of war, an answer to my letter, written to them before I left New Windsor, on the subject of your expenses, whilst exercising the office of surveyor. They say, that the expenses of the office, so far exceed the provision made by Congress, that they cannot desire you to undertake it; but that the department at Springfield, is in such amazing confusion, that they will undertake to pay your expenses, whilst executing the business of inspecting that department. Thus, the most useful office is likely to fail, for want of support. I beg you will please to write me on the subject as soon as possible.

I am, dear Sir,
Your hum'e serv't,
H. KNOX.§

Colonel LAMB.

This letter was followed by an order from the war department, in these terms:

WAR AND ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT, Decem'er 24, 1779.

Sir:

The affairs at Springfield are in amazing confusion. We hear perpetual complaints, which from our distance from the post, we can neither enquire into, nor remedy. We must, therefore, beg you will proceed to the post, and strictly examine into all circumstances there; in which we mean to include, the character, abilities, and so far as you can judge, the conduct of the officers, who are not necessary; what work is done in a given time; the situation of the buildings, and stores, and in short, every thing you deem necessary, to enable you to make to us a full report. We depend much on your information, to enable us to adjust the business at Springfield, which seems to have been confused and clogged by a clashing of power among the principal officers, either real or assumed; and a feud too, imprudently kept alive, between the artificers, and the inhabitants of the place. As we wish to make reformations to save expense, we shall be glad of your ready compliance with our request, and the more especially, as we have detained a sum of money, destined for the works at Springfield, until better convinced of the prudence with which it will be disbursed, and the necessity of its advance. Your travelling charges will be borne. We shall be glad of a report in writing.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

We are, Sir,
With much esteem,
Your very Obed't Servants,
RICHARD PETERS.
By Order.*

Col. JOHN LAMB,
Surveyor Ordnance.

All other branches of this order, were more agreeable to the feelings of Col. Lamb, than the inquisitorial part; but it was not in his nature to decline any public service, however unpleasant. He proceeded to execute the preliminary duties assigned him, previous to his orders, and on his arrival at Springfield, he found that the apprehensions of the board, had not been merely conjectural. The greatest disorder prevailed in every branch of the department, and numerous schemes of peculation were exhausting the appropriations of the government;† artizans were kept in the pay of the public, whose services, were more necessary to the emolu-

*Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. †Idem.

ment and convenience of the superintendents, than to the government; and these were permitted to labor for the citizens on their own account, after the stated hours of occupation for the public.* A system, by which frauds were committed, and peculations practised upon the materials provided for the public; shoemakers and tailors, were in constant employ, when it was difficult to discover to whose use their manufactures could be legitimately applied. To these were added, an infinity of abuses: mere boys, the sons of the employees were engaged as clerks, with the pay and emoluments of captains in the line.†

Colonel Lamb was not backward in denouncing these abuses, which he did in a very elaborate report,‡ of the 21st February, 1780, recommending a reduction, and a new organization of the department; in which the duties of the whole were properly balanced, and a due system of command, and accountability established and perfected.

His journey to Springfield, was much retarded by the severity of the weather, and the prodigious snow storms, which prevailed at that season; (memorized as the Hard Winter;) the exposure to which, together with the arduous duties of his mission, brought on an attack of his old complaint, and in a short time after he reached the residence of his family at Southington, a violent fit of the gout, set in, which confined him at home for nearly three months; and he did not reach his post at Fishkill, until the 14th June.

While he was suffering the pains of illness in his bed, his comrades in the field, were encountering all the horrors of the climate, aided by the miseries of starvation. Gen. Knox, from Morristown, 6th January, 1780, wrote as follows:

"The army at this place, has been miserably in want of provisions; five days without beef, and as many at another time, without flour. It ought to astonish the bulk of America, that her veteran soldiers bear it with a degree of fortitude, and patience, unexampled by the people at large. But the curse of it is, that all this is borne for a people, who seem to pay but little regard to their sufferings: a precious little more, than if the army were Britons."[*]

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

The military chest was empty: the means, and even the personal credit of the Commissary General were exhausted; and he was compelled to annnounce to the Commander-in-Chief, his utter inability to procure farther supplies for the army; and Washington was forced to sustain them, in a season of uncommon scarcity, by requisitions in kind, from the several states.[†] Added to these evils, the currency had reached that state of depreciation, as to have become almost valueless. In the language of Chief Justice Marshall, "the pay of a Major General, would no longer hire an express rider; and that of a Captain, would not purchase the shoes in which he marched."[‡]

Col. Lamb, although, in consequence of his illness, in a country removed from the proximity of the army, and in comparative plenty, found great difficulty in procuring the articles necessary to the subsistence, and comfort of his family in his immediate vicinity: he therefore wrote to a relative and friend at Boston, to make for him the requisite purchases, and received the following reply:

> Boston, May 29, 1780.
>
> "The next day after I received yours, I went from shop to shop, and enquired for the articles you wrote for, and the prices. Many of the articles could not be purchased for paper money. In the evening I sat down and made a calculation what the articles you wrote for would cost: I found by the computation, that it would be seven thousand pounds lawful money. I declined making a purchase, 'til I could have your answer, as it is a great sum, for so few articles, as bad as the money is."[||]

The President of Congress, in a visit, to camp proposed to

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[*] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. [†] Marshal. [‡] Idem.

[||] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

General Knox, that two companies of Lamb's regiment, should be attached to that of Col. Proctor, and their places supplied by an equal number to be raised in the state of New Jersey. The proposition being submitted to the board of war, produced the following correspondence.

WAR OFFICE, March 2, 1780.

Sir:

The enclosed is the copy of a letter from General Knox, to the board, on the subject of making some new arrangements in your regiment and Col. Proctor's.

The board request your sentiments, upon the proposed alteration, as early as possible.

I am sir, your most obedient serv't.
By order,
BEN. STODDERT,†
Secretary.

COL. LAMB.

This letter met with much delay, and when received, was answered as follows:

SOUTHINGTON, 1st. April, 1780.

Gentlemen:

Your favor of the 2d ultimo, inclosing Brig. Gen. Knox's letter of the 30th January, did not reach my hands 'til yesterday, or I should have done myself the honor of answering it sooner.

I can not possibly conceive how the two companies of my regiment that were raised in Pennsylvania can, on any principle of equity, be excluded from participating of the liberal provisions made by that state: especially, as they are returned to your board, agreeably to a resolution of Congress, as part of their quota of troops. As those companies are frequently detached from the regiment, it is in General Knox's power, to make such an arrangement respecting them, as he may think is most conducive to the service. They may therefore be brigaded with the Pennsylvania line, which will remove the inconvenience complained of by President Reade, as it will put them in a situation to receive every benefit and advantage intended them by the state.

If local policy, and the convenience of particular states, or individuals, is to be adopted, the same objection that has

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

been made by President Reade, with respect to the companies raised in Pennsylvania, may with equal propriety, be made by the states of Connecticut and New York, whose troops compose part of my regiment, likewise.

Should the state of Jersey, agree to raise two companies of artillery on the principle mentioned in General Knox's letter, it will be a long time, before it can possibly be effected, and I doubt whether it can be done at all ; as there is a material difference, in the present state of our currency, between a resolution to raise troops, and the carrying the same into execution. It is a melancholy truth, that the most trifling present advantage, weighs more with the bulk of mankind, than the promise of great rewards, to be paid them in future. And this disposition is more apparent in the soldier, than any other ; who from the nature of his calling, reflects that the chances of living to enjoy the future good, is much against him. He therefore prefers the present advantage, to the future, and views the latter, as a mere shadow, that has no other existence, but in speculation. But could every difficulty with respect to raising the men be surmounted, it is more than probable another will arise. I mean that of the state's appointing the officers to command them : such a measure, would occasion great uneasiness in the regiment : and it would essentially injure a number of my officers, who would have an indubitable right to complain.

The regiment I have the honor of commanding, having been patronized by no particular state, was consequently raised under many, and great disadvantages. And though I am well convinced it has cost the continent much less to raise it, than many others, I flatter myself, it is equal to any in the service, with respect to its officers and men. The officers of the other regiments of artillery received great encouragement and assistance from the respective states where they were raised. But mine having been raised in different states, on a more extensive scale ; and being considered as the troops of the continent at large, we were deprived of those partial advantages which the others derived from their local situation.

On the whole I must confess it would be extremely chagrining to me, to have the regiment dismembered, by lopping off those companies, after the officers and men have acquired a considerable degree of knowledge and experience in their profession; and to have them replaced by raw, inexperienced, and undisciplined troops, who would have every thing to learn, and by whose misconduct, or want of experience, the reputation of the regiment may be destroyed.

However disagreeable such an arrangement would be to me, I would readily assent to it, if it would tend to promote the service; but this is not the case, as it can only affect a particular state. And should the same partial policy be adopted by all those states whose troops compose my regiment, it must consequently be annihilated, and some of my officers, after long and painful service, have just cause of complaint.

If it is proper that the state of Jersey should raise two companies of artillery, it would be more eligible, that the men when raised, should be draughted into the weakest companies, in the four regiments; as many of them must be very thin at present.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen,
Your Ob't Serv't,
The Honorable, JOHN LAMB.*
The Board of WAR and ORDNANCE.

The return of Sir Henry Clinton, from the south, induced the Commander-in-Chief to believe that a formidable attempt would immediately be made by the troops on board the fleet, just arrived at the Hook; and feeling that a vigorous defence of the posts on the Hudson river, might ensure the safety of the army, then in an alarming state of weakness, the following order was directed to issue from head quarters:

SPRINGFIELD, (N. JERSEY,) 21st June, 1780.

My Dear Sir :

I received your favor of the 14th instant. I was sorry that you had been unwell, but am happy to hear that you have recovered. West Point, having so large a proportion of the corps of artillery; and being of such great consequence to America, demands that an officer of high rank in the artillery should be there.

You being acquainted with that post and its vicinity, and other circumstances, point you out, as the officer most proper to take that command. You will please, therefore, to repair to that place, and inform General How and Major Bauman of this order.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

The probability of an attempt of the enemy to wrest West Point from us; the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton, from Charlestown, with a part of his army, and some good intelligence of his designs, render it highly necessary that every thing in every department at West Point, should be placed in the best state possible. I am certain you will omit nothing in the ordnance department."[*]

Sir Henry Clinton had landed and advanced a great force from Elizabethtown, to attack General Greene, on the 23d June, at Springfield. The artillery stationed to defend the passage of the Rahway, was very smartly engaged with that of the enemy,[†] and Col Lamb, who valued the reputation of his corps, almost as highly as his own, was much gratified to learn, that one of his companies was very efficient on that occasion; but the reputation that the regiment acquired by this display of gallantry, was purchased by the death of Capt.-Lieut. Thompson, and several valuable men.

In Gen. Knox's letter of the 22d, mention is made of Maj. Bauman, and some allusion to certain characteristic peculiarities. Of these, Col. Lamb had a foretaste, on his arrival at Fishkill. As his commanding officer (for Bauman was the major of his regiment,) he wrote him as follows:

FISHKILL, 22d June, 1780.

Dear Major:

As the carriage of the twelve pounder which is in the redoubt at Stoney Point, is a bad one, and the piece itself is not very good; I wish if there is a good piece of that calibre, that can possibly be spared, you would send it to that post without delay; as they have a gin there to remount it. I likewise wish, that a number of the damaged royals, be sent there at the same time, as they will answer the purpose of hand grenades, should the enemy attempt the redoubts, at Verplanck's and Stoney Point, by assault. In passing through the Continental village, I have observed a number of shells, which I have directed Major Campbell to have collected, and sent to your post. I am with Esteem, Yours, &c.,

Major BAUMAN. JOHN LAMB.[‡]

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[*] Lamb papers, N. Y. H. S. [†] Marshall. [‡] Lamb papers. N. Y. H. S.

The person to whom this letter was addressed, had been, on Col. Lamb being dispatched to Springfield, invested with the command of the artillery, at West Point; and enamored of his brief authority, was quite unwilling to have it invaded, even by the order of his legitimate superior.* Major Bauman was not willing to receive this instruction, so salutary to the public, in any other than an advisory light; and so signified his intentions. The arrival of Gen. Knox's letter was opportune, and perhaps prevented some unpleasant consequences, as will appear by the following:

Fishkills, 23 June, 1780.

Dear General:

Your favor of the 21st instant, was handed me by General How, to whom I communicated its contents, agreeably to your directions. I shall repair to West Point immediately, as I informed Gen. McDougall, I would do, previous to the receipt of your letter, as soon as it became probable the enemy had any thing serious in contemplation, with respect to that post. I am sensible that Major Bauman is a strange genius, and that it requires the greatest address to manage him without giving up my own consequence, as his superior officer. But as I always abhorred punctilio, when unnecessary, so I shall wave every thing of the kind, when the public interest is immediately concerned: and here it can possibly be done, without betraying a want of spirit, or of attention to the necessary military forms.

I am affec'y,
Yr Hum'e Serv't,
John Lamb.†

Brig. Gen. Knox.

The check given to the British commander, by Gen. Greene at Springfield, (N. J.), seemed to discourage him from a farther attempt on our positions by land.‡ Still he might avail himself of his naval means, and assail the river ports. To be prepared for this event, a part of the army was drawn nearer to the points of attack, to cover these important stations.

Every branch of the public service, suffered the paralyzing effects of an empty treasury. Munitions of war, were on hand, but these were inefficient, for the want of means to transport them, to the points where they were most wanted. Evidence of this will be found in the following letter:*

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Marshall. ‡ Lamb papers.

Ramapaugh, 29 June, 1780.

Dear Sir:

"I have but just returned from Trenton, where I have been on public business. The enemy will, I believe, be cautious how they invest West Point, under their present circumstances; but in any case I hope the place will be found in the best situation of defence, our means will admit.

I have repeatedly demanded a much greater quantity of powder than is there at present, but have not been able to obtain it. We have at Pompton, and Mount Hope furnaces, between five and six thousand eighteen pound balls, and three thousand shells, for the French 9 inch mortars, but I have not been able to have them transported to West Point, by reason of the utter inability of the Quarter-Master General's department."

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Meditated Attack on New York.—Opinions of Officers relative to French Armies.—Erroneous.—Succeeds to the Command of the Post, and Department.—Scant Rations.—Knox's Letter.—Quarter-Master General resigns.—Embarrassments of the Army.—New York.—Arnold to command the Highlands.—Mr. Duer's Letter.—Moody a Spy.—Derangement of the Department.—Correspondence with Arnold.—Prisoners ordered to Camp —Moody detained.—Lamb's Opinion against.—Arnold weakens the Garrison.— Lamb remonstrates.— Correspondence with Arnold.—Malcom.—Knox.—1780.

The situation of the Commander-in-Chief, and of the army, was extremely embarrassing. The arrival of the auxiliaries from France, was hourly expected, and no plans of coöperaion, were formed for the exigency; nor could Washington venture upon any determination, from the want of knowledge of the intentions of Congress, and the States.* It was hoped that the fleet would be sufficiently powerful, to drive that of Great Britain off the coast, or to enable the French Admiral to attack New York in conjunction with the American army.† But the situation of that army, and its rescources were not such as to enable the Commander-in-Chief to enter with confidence into definitive arrangements; and the direct attack on the city was abandoned. The French commander, by force of these circumstances, instead of entering the Hook, made his landing at Rhode Island.‡

Great diversity of opinion prevailed in the army respecting the employment of the French land forces; and that measure, afterwards found so efficacious, met with severe reprehension from many of the officers; among them was Major Shaw, the aid-de-camp of Gen. Knox, who seems to have been a liberal thinker, and not backward, to speak his sentiments on the occasion, as will appear by the following letter:

*Marshall. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

Camp at Prakenis, 12 July, 1780.

" We have accounts here, via: New York, which look very like a certainty, of the French armament being on the coast. The Gaudaloupe man of war has been so hard chased by this fleet, that she was obliged to throw over her guns, and spars, in order to get out of their way. This intelligence has occasioned a vast bustle in New York, and the Britons, with their adherents, are making mighty preparations, to ward off the impending blow.

As an American citizen, I rejoice in the prospect of so speedy, and I hope an effectual aid; but *as a soldier*, I am dissatisfied. How will it sound in history, that the United States of America, could not, or rather would not, make an exertion, when the means were amply in their power, which might at once rid them of their enemies, and put them in possession of that liberty, and safety, for which we have been so long contending? By Heaven! if our rulers had any modesty, they would blush at the idea of calling in foreign aid! 'Tis really abominable, that we should send to France *for soldiers*, when there are so many sons of America idle. Such a step ought not (had these *great* men, any sensibility), to have been taken, until the strength of the country had been nearly exhausted, and our freedom tottering on the brink of ruin. Let us be indebted to France, Spain, or even to the devil himself, if he could furnish it, for a navy, because we can not get one seasonably among ourselves; but do let us, unless we are contented to be transmitted to posterity with disgrace, make an exertion of our own strength by land, and not owe our independence entirely to our allies."[*] Shaw

In these sentiments, Col. Lamb heartily coincided,[†] and it is probable that the dissatisfaction with the employment of the French land forces, was extensive; but these opinions were unfounded. There was no probability that Congress could, in the deranged condition of the pecuniary affairs of the country, procure the necessary funds for the embodyment of an efficient army. The auxiliary aid of the French land forces, was not only the means of adding to our physical strength, but the formidable preparations of France, gave an impulse to the people at home, and animated them to exertion, and at the same time, inspired confidence abroad in the ultimate success of the struggle, which raised the credit of the country with the bankers of Europe.

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[*] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc

[†] Idem.

While Col. Lamb was sustaining a hazardous, and honorable command, and head of an important department; his situation in regard to emolument, was very similar to that of the secretary of the Duke of Lerma, memorized by Le Sage, and he was placed in a situation to ruin himself effectually, by the enormous personal expenses, imposed upon him by his station.* West Point was an object of curiosity; private, and official visitors, and public messengers, without number, were constantly arriving. It was not in his nature to fail in any duty of hospitality, and Congress had stinted his supplies in a most extraordinary manner. These inconveniences were expressed to Gen. Knox, and produced the following letter in reply:†

CAMP PRAKENIS, 12 July, 1780.

"It pains me exceedingly, to think of your situation, as commanding officer of artillery, so humiliating as to be obliged to subsist on one ration only, when your important charge, involves you in a much greater expense, than any Colonel commandant of a brigade. This I have faithfully represented to the General, some time ago, when I gave you orders to repair to West Point. He seemed to accede to the propriety of my representation, but thought he could not remedy the matter, without establishing a precedent that might have disagreeable consequences."‡

It would seem that the unpleasant situation of the Commander-in-Chief, could not well be aggravated. He was pledged by Congress to active coöperation with the commander of the French forces, while that body had made very little progress to enable him to redeem these pledges; and when at a venture, he had resolved upon a forward movement of the army; a new organization of the general staff, compelled the Quarter-Master to resign his commission.§

* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Marshall.

Yet notwithstanding the embarrassment occasioned by this measure, he still determined upon an approach to New York, and orders for the march were given. The evening these orders were issued, Gen. Arnold arrived in camp, preparatory to assuming the command of the Highland Army.* In the plan of operations, it was contemplated that Col. Lamb should join the army, with part of the artillery;† but news arriving the next day that Sir Henry Clinton had returned from the eastward, he was ordered to resume his command at West Point, and to detatch four of the most efficient companies of artillery; thereby weakening the garrison nearly one-half.‡ Col. Lamb was no way satisfied with the dismemberment of his forces, and expressed his uneasiness in the following letter of 8th August, to Gen. Knox:

"The enemy, under the command of Brandt, and Butler, are laying waste the upper part of this state. These operations, I conceive, are intended as a diversion to draw the militia that way, and afford Sir Harry an opportunity of attempting this post, by a coup de main; this would not, in my opinion, be a very arduous undertaking, in the present state of this garrison, and this state, the enemy will not long be ignorant of. There is no dependence to be placed upon such militia, who are badly officer'd. The night before last, the guard suffered three tory prisoners to escape; and last night, four more. I am not apt to conjure up phantoms, nor to anticipate disagreeable events, but I do not like the present situation of matters here."§

On that same evening, the following letter was received, directed to the commanding officer at West Point:

RHINEBECK, Aug. 7, 1780.

Sir:

I esteem it my duty to inform you, that there is a certain Lieut. Moody, now at Fishkill, a Lt. in the enemy's new levies, who was taken up lately in Jersey, with a commission and instructions from Gen. Knyphausen, to seize Governor Livingston. Notwithstanding this, and several other circumstances, which I am informed from good authority, Gov. Livingston is acquainted with, he is now on his parole, and will probably soon make his escape from (to) the enemy; and thereby escape the fate, he so richly deserves, of being hung as a spy. I am informed this person was sent off in a hurry to West Point, at the time our army was moving; from which circumstance, I presume the particular circumstances of his capture were not communicated. As I know your zeal in every matter which may affect the public safety, I am sensible it will be sufficient to mention what I have, to induce you to give orders for securing this person, 'til he can be tried by proper authority. As soon as this is effected, Gov. Livingston will, I am sure, be obliged to you, if you will give him notice, as he apprehends at present that he has made his escape.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

I am sir, Your Obed't Hum'e Serv't,
Wm. Duer.*

Col. Malcom,†
Commanding Off'r, West Point.

In consequence of this letter, Moody was given in charge of the guard at Fort Putnam, with strict injunctions to prevent his escape; and the provost at that place being in a very unsafe condition, Major Villefranche, the engineer, was directed to order the necessary arrangements for its security.‡ At the same time the following letter was sent to General Arnold.

West Point, 9th August, 1780.

Dear General:

The enclosed letter to Col. Malcom, I received last night, together with the prisoner mentioned therein; who it seems is the officer that was sometime lurking about in Jersey for the purpose of carrying off Governor Livingston. As I have received no official directions respecting him, I do not think myself authorized to order him in irons, but have given the officer of the guard, particular instructions to have a strict eye over him; and that his men be directed to be vigilant. But as they are a militia guard, you are sensible that no dependence can be placed upon them. As this is the case, I wish you to write to General Washington, on the subject. In the interim I shall be glad to have your orders respecting him."*

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

†It appears from this, and some letters of Col. Malcom, that he was ordered to the command of the post, in consequence of Col. Lamb taking the field, and that after the order was countermanded, Col. M. marched with the army.

‡ Lamb papers.

Before any reply was received, the prisoner was put in irons; probably induced by the insecurity of the Provost, and two days elapsed before any answer was given. Meantime, by some connivance, Moody found means to write to General Arnold claiming to be a prisoner of war, and grossly exaggerating the rigor of his confinement.† The communication of Moody was enclosed to Col. Lamb, in the following letter.

Head Quarters, Robinson's
House, Aug. 11, 1780.

Dear Sir:

I enclose you a letter which I have this minute received from Ensign Moody; I should have wrote you before now on the subject of your letter respecting him, had not I expected to have seen you at the Point. My leg being a little inflamed has prevented my coming over.

I don't think it justifiable to put prisoners of war in irons as a punishment, and on no other principle but retaliation; or when it is absolutely necessary to secure them. We have made heavy complaints on that head, in particular in the instance of Col. E. Allen. I believe Moody a bad man, but considered as a prisoner of war, no discrimination can be made, if he has observed his parole. I know not by whose order he has been put in irons, but suppose by yours. I could therefore wish they might be taken off by you, without his knowing that I have interfered in the matter; and that he should be confined in a manner to prevent any possibility of escape.

I am with great regard,
Dear Sir, your ob't. humble serv't.
B. Arnold.‡

Col. Lamb.

In answer to this, Colonel Lamb wrote as follows:

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

‡ Idem.

West Point, Aug. 12, 1780.

Dear General:

Your favor of yesterday I have received. In answer to which, I have to observe, that as Moody was formerly parolled by General Washington, the General must certainly have been informed of some criminality on the part of the prisoner, which had not come to his knowledge before; or he would not have been induced to deprive him of his parole, and order him to close confinement. For my part, I view him in the light of a spy, from every circumstance respecting him. And as he was brought into the garrison in open day light, and has had an opportunity, (from the simplicity of the guard, and the facility of conversing with them) of knowing the state of the garrison; at least what kind of troops it is composed of; I think it will be highly improper to take off his irons, and let him escape; which he undoubtedly will do, in forty-eight hours if he is unshackled. Two more prisoners were suffered to escape yesterday at noon day. I think this garrison a very improper place to send prisoners of his enterprising spirit to, and I wish you would write to General Washington, on the subject as soon as possible.

Every method ought to be taken to prevent the enemy from knowing the real state of this post. For altho' they may not at present have it in contemplation to attack it; yet when they are informed what kind of troops are destined for its defence, it may become an object. And should they embark their troops, and finesse,* as if they were going elsewhere, and embrace the opportunity of pushing up the river with a strong southerly wind, (after landing a sufficient body of troops in Jersey to draw General Washington's attention that way), I know not what could prevent it falling into their hands.

I am,
Dear General,
Your ob'dt. serv't.

Major Gen. Arnold. John Lamb.†

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*This was precisely the plan afterwards adopted by Sir Henry Clinton, as will appear by his despatches, and was probably suggested by Arnold, from this letter. If not it affords evidence of the sagacity and vigilance of the commander of the post.

† Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

These arguments appeared too cogent to be controverted, and the next day the order for the release of Moody from irons was countermanded.

The quarter-master department of the Highland army, was very ill supplied, and very inefficiently executed. A detachment of one hundred men, were sent from the garrison to Fishkill, for the purpose of making musket cartridges; and there was not a single camp kettle, to be obtained, to supply their necessities*. The officers of the garrison could not obtain a single sheet of paper, upon which to make their returns; even the commander was obliged to borrow some from Gen. Arnold for that purpose.† And the public stores were plundered by the soldiers, for want of locks to secure them from depredation.‡ " A heavenly situation" (exclaimed Col. Lamb in a letter to Gen. Knox,) " and God knows when it will end!"§ Nor were the troops better supplied on the march, as the following letter from Col. Malcom, who had recently commanded the post, will evince :

HAVERSTRAW, Aug. 14, 1780.

My Dr. Col :

Here we are! it is the devil ! nothing to cover either officer or soldier; not even axes to cut boughs! I did not choose to take away the trifling stores of the garrison, especially as I expected to find something at King's Ferry. But all alike; a few old pickaxes, are all the moveables there. I have attacked the General's generosity. I thought it best that Benscoten, should stop as he passed, as you might have a delicacy about issuing without his previous acquiescence. I have heard nothing as yet; but perhaps to-morrow I may ride to H. Q. Three vessels at T. point.

Your boats are all ordered up.

I am uneasy about your situation, but the enemy are not enterprising.

Yours, most sincerely,

W. MALCOM.||

We must have Hughes.¶ Urge the General to provide.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem. || Idem.

¶ Col. Hugh Hughes, Assistant Q. M. Gen. under Mifflin, and then in a different department under Pickering.

The garrison at the point, after the four companies of artillery were sent to the army, was already too weak for defence;* and the subsequent draft of an hundred men to Fiskill, left not a disposable man for other service.† The Commander-in-Chief, by general orders, directed all the prisoners, except prisoners of war, to be sent, under guard, to head quarters at Tappan.‡ Col. Lamb considering the case of Moody, as coming within the order to march; and anxious to get rid of so suspicious a person, was desirous of sending him with the others to camp. He therefore wrote, on the 16th August, to Gen. Arnold, expressing his views of the true character of the prisoner, and of his desire to include him with the others. At the same time, he mentioned the deficiencies of the post in necessary ammunition.§ "I am apprehensive," (said he,) "that if the prisoners are sent by land, under a militia guard, many of them will make their escape before they reach head quarters. To prevent which, I shall send them by water, to King's Ferry. And as a farther security, I will send a careful sergeant, and six men of my own corps, to make part of the guard. I shall be happy if you will please to order Col. Livingston to relieve the guard, and send the prisoners to head quarters, by a detachment of the troops under his command.

"We have not more musket cartridges at present, at this post, than will afford thirty rounds per man, for fifteen hundred men; and, therefore, can not possibly permit the issuing a single cartridge to the troops that remain in the department. I thought it proper to give this information, that you may know how we are circumstanced in this respect; and to prevent any further draughts being made on us for that article, 'til we have an ample supply."||

The vigilance of the Commander of West Point, could not be very gratifying to a man who had actually sold it to the enemy; yet Arnold in his reply, commended the forecast and diligence displayed; but was determined, so far as he might do it with safety to himself, to defeat it.* Although he had ordered Moody in irons, he still chose to consider him a prisoner of war, and directed him to be retained in the garrison. Probably estimating him, as too good an auxiliary to the cause he himself had embraced, to be trusted within the reach of the provost marshal of the camp at head quarters. He also refused to order the guard from the garrison, relieved at King's Ferry, under the plea that Colonel Livingston, who was the commander of the posts there, was already too weak.†

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem. || Idem.

While Col. Lamb was so unwilling to part with the small force necessary to guard the prisoners on their way to camp; and was conquering his vexation as well as he could, at the refusal to restore that detachment to the garrison, he received the astounding intelligence that he was to be still farther weakened by the requisition of Arnold to furnish two hundred men for the purpose of being employed by the D. Q. M. Gen'l in cutting fuel for the different posts.‡ Against this blow, he did what was possible to guard himself, and wrote the following letter, the least cordial in its terms, that had ever passed between him and Arnold:

West Point, Aug. 18, 1780.

Dear General:

I have to inform you that I have this day sent off the prisoners to head quarters. I mentioned to Major Franks, yesterday, that two hundred men from the Massachusetts brigade, were sent to Fishkill, previous to your arrival. What occasion there is for such a guard at that place, I can not possibly conceive. Half the number, will be sufficient.

If such draughts as are called for are made from the garrison, we shall neither be able to finish the works that are incomplete, nor in a situation to defend those that are finished. Capt. Hubbel will explain to you, the reasons why the men ordered for cutting fire-wood, are still here. They are waiting your farther orders respecting them.

I am Dear Gen'l, Y'rs, &c.

Major General Arnold. John Lamb.§

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

In this mood, he answered the letter of Col. Malcom of the 14th, and the following extract will disclose the bitterness of his mortification.

West Point, 18th Aug., 1780.

"What will become of this garrison? Hay has called upon the General for two hundred wood-cutters, which the General has complied with. Exclusive of the guards, we have between four and five hundred men, daily on fatigue. This is murder to a garrison whose troops ought to have some little discipline."*

Still in the hope that Arnold might relent, and not persist in detailing so effective a part of the garrison, Col. Lamb wrote him another letter, reminding him of the useless detachment of the Massachusetts men at Fishkill, and giving him further information of the state of his defences.†

West Point, 19th Aug., 1780.

Dear General:

I have to inform you, that we could not turn out this morning, more men than were necessary for the fatigue and guards; and as it was not expressed in general orders of yesterday, whether the two hundred men ordered for the purpose of cutting fire-wood for the garrison, should march immediately for Fishkill, or wait 'til the officer commanding them, shall receive directions from Col. Hay, I have thought it proper to order them on the necessary fatigue of the garrison, till your pleasure should be known.‡

Col. Lamb had been compelled, on several occasions, to complain of the neglect of the quarter master's department, and the general inefficiency of that branch of the service.§ It is palpable from the answer of Gen. Knox, that the same evils were felt with great severity, at head quarters; and the consequences to be apprehended under the new organization were not considered trivial.

Camp at Tappan, 22d Aug. 1780.

"You mention difficulties in the Q. M'r Gen'l department. I am sorry for them, but know not when they will subside.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem

Congress have made a new system, and have appointed a new Q. M'r Gen'l to carry it into execution, viz : Timothy Pickering, Esq. Whether this will accelerate, or frustrate, the intended operations of the campaign, it is easy to determine. Perhaps the rulers of America, are the only people under the sun, who refuse the benefit of experience. We were nearly ruined in 1777, by changing one of the great departments of the army, in the middle of a campaign; and as if that event was totally obliterated from our minds, the same expedient is now repeated, with an eagerness that seems to render our annihilation certain."*

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

CHAPTER XIX.

Moody's Case submitted to Washington.—Ordered to Camp.—Army offer Battle.—Letter from Col. Varrick.—Joshua Smith.—Arnold's Visits.—Conversation at Arnold's Table.—Mrs. Arnold at Head Quarters.—Guns ordered to Dobbs's Ferry.—Delayed.—Vulture in Haverstraw Bay.—Requisition for Powder.—Reluctantly granted.—Purpose for which it was expended.—Vulture driven from her Position.—Washington arrives at Fishkill.—At the Garrison.—Arnold receives Jamison's Letter.—Escapes.—Washington receives News.—Disclosed to Lamb.—Orders to Verplanck's and Stoney Point.—Back to West Point.—Varrick's Illness.—Uneasiness.—His Letters.—Oswald's.—Smith's Trial.—Causes of Arnold's Defection.—McDougall in Command.—Superseded by St. Clair.—Lamb commands Artillery.—At Fishkill.

Gen. Arnold had found it expedient to refer the case of Moody to the Commander-in-Chief,* and received orders to have him dispatched to camp. He was accordingly sent under strict guard, and the garrison relieved of his presence.† Arnold in the mean time, was affecting great concern for the good condition of the post. All the departments were ordered to furnish the most accurate return of the munitions on hand.‡

At this juncture, the Commander-in-Chief seems to have determined to offer battle to Sir Henry Clinton. The army was drawn down the river, and strong temptations were offered to the British General, to take some steps to bring on an engagement.§ But that Commander, perhaps relying upon his secret plans, was willing to rest his hopes upon a less sanguinary mode of terminating the campaign, and perhaps the war. The following extract of a letter from Major Shaw, written with his usual freedom, will disclose how far the supineness of the British General, was increased by the hopes he indulged from the schemes he was pursuing:

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

"We have been here in the neighborhood of Fort Lee, bidding defiance to Sir Harry for eight or ten days, but he does not choose to take the advantage of our position; which, with proper deference, I think a ——— one. Should the enemy land above us, they would have an amazing odds in their favor. If our left flank should be turned, and a defeat ensue, a retreat must be attended with the utmost confusion, as we have two rivers directly in our rear, and the only passage across one of them, is over a bridge, which would not support two-thirds the weight of one of our heavy eighteen pounders."

Believe me my dear sir,
Yours sincerely,
S. Shaw.*

31 Aug., 1780, Tenick.

Colonel Lamb.

A supply of powder had reached the garrison, and in Gen. Knox's dispatch, which preceded it, he announced the defeat of Gates at Camden, and the disasters of the southern army;† but news had reached Arnold's head quarters, of the escape of part of the Maryland line, which was communicated by Col. Varrick, the secretary and aid of Arnold, in the following characteristic extract:

Hd. Qrs. Rob. House, Sept. 11, 1780.

"In a postscript of His Excellency's letter of the 9th, dated in the afternoon, he says: 'I have this moment received a letter from Gov. Jefferson, by which it appears that above one-half of the Maryland division, had made their retreat good, after a most obstinate engagement." This is glorious news to our country, when compared with Gates's account. He will be blasted in this World, and humanly judging, he ought to be in the next, for not supporting the Maryland troops, and suffering them to be so mauled; when, had he behaved like a soldier himself, Cornwallis would have been ruined, and to use a common term, Cornwalladed; for Col. Sumpter, of South Carolina, was in his rear, with above one thousand men. May America's reproaches light on the poltroon, who will turn his back on such gallant troops as those of Maryland."[*]

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* A most excellent, and interesting memoir of this gentleman, has recently been published by the Hon. Josiah Quincy.

† Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

Gen. Arnold had reached the Highlands, on the 4th August, leaving Mrs. Arnold behind him in Philadelphia.[†] To amuse his lonely hours, as he stated to his friends, he was in the habit of visiting at the house of Joshua Hett Smith, at Haverstraw, a short distance from Stoney Point; and on several occasions, invited Col. Lamb to accompany him, giving him a tempting picture of the pleasant society he would meet with there. These invitations were invariably declined, although Mrs. Smith, and Mrs. Lamb, were nearly related, and the reasons for so doing, unreservedly given. He knew, (he said) that Smith was a tory; and he would not visit his own father, in a similar category.[‡]

Arnold had been absent from his quarters several days, and on his return, on the 13th September, he brought Mrs. Arnold with him.[§] The day of his arrival, he issued the following order to Col. Lamb :

HEAD QUARTERS, ROBINSON'S HOUSE,
Sept. 13, 1780.

Dear Sir :

Two nine, or twelve pounders, are wanted in the redoubts at Dobbs's Ferry,[||] for the purpose of signal guns, as well as to keep off the enemy's boats, who come up almost every day, and insult the post. You will therefore please to inform me by the bearer, whether there are none of the stocked pieces of those calibres, which are of no great service here; and that may answer the purpose mentioned at Kings Ferry. The twelves, will be most eligible, if to be spared.[¶]

On the same day the General was informed that the guns were ready for service; but it was not until the seventeenth of the month, that they were ordered by him to their destination;* and on the return of the batteau, intelligence was brought that the sloop of war, Vulture, was in Haverstraw bay;† which soon took her station near Teller's point, some eight or ten miles below King's Ferry. The next day, a flag was despatched from the vessel to Gen. Arnold.‡ It happened that day, that Col. Lamb dined at head quarters, where Smith was an invited guest. In a narrative of these transactions, published by Smith, it is stated, that he, (Smith) enquired the meaning of this intercourse. At first, he says Arnold replied, "that in a short time, the business of the flags would be explained"; soon afterwards, it was mentioned at dinner, by Gen. Arnold, that the flags had brought letters from Col. Beverly Robinson, who, Gen. Arnold said, was very anxious to make terms for the recovery of his estates, that had been confiscated to the public use, and that Col. Robinson was authorized to propose, through his medium, some preliminary grounds for an accommodation between Great Britain and America. Col. Lamb, an old and sagacious officer, who, with a number of other officers from the garrison, was present at the dinner, immediately said, that any proposition of that kind, ought with more propriety, to be made to Congress, than to a General, only commanding a district.§ Gen. Arnold replied, that the communication must at first, be made through some channel, and here the conversation ended.*

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[*] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

[†] Idem.

[‡] Family tradition.

[§] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

[¶] Idem.

[||] So in the original.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem.

‡ Smith's narrative.

§ The coincidence of this opinion, with that subsequently given by the Commander-in-Chief, is worthy of remark:

"To all appearance, the letter related only to Robinson's private affair, and merely contained a request for an interview respecting that matter. Washington did not approve the proposal, and told Arnold that such a conference would afford grounds for suspicion, in the minds of some people, and advised him to avoid it; saying further, that the subject in which Col. Robinson was interested, did not come within the powers of a military officer, and that the civil government of the state was the only authority to which he could properly apply."—*Sparks's Arnold*, *pages* 187, 188.

The day after this conversation, Col. Livingston, commanding at Verplanck's point, supposing that the Vulture could be annoyed from the shore, sent a messenger to West Point, for a supply of ammunition.† This was furnished, and with it, was sent the following letter :

West Point, 20th Sept., 1780.

Sir :

I have sent you the ammunition you requested, but at the same time, I wish there may not be a wanton waste of it, as we have little to spare.

Firing at a ship with a four pounder, is in my opinion, a waste of powder; as the damage she will sustain, is not equal to the expense. Whenever applications are made for ammunition, they must be made through the commanding officer of artillery, at the post where it is wanted.

I am Sir, Yours, &c.,

John Lamb.‡

Col. Livingston.

Had Col. Lamb been aware of the blessed effects to be produced by this cannonade, he would not have dispensed his munitions so grudgingly; for never were balls so well expended, as those which were fired upon that occasion.

On the next night, the 21st, Arnold had despatched a flag by Smith, to the Vulture to bring on shore the Adjutant-General of the British forces, in order to consummate his plans for the surrender of the Forts in the Highlands, and the ruin of Washingston's army.§ The meeting was appointed on the west bank of the Hudson, at the foot of the Long Clove, below the American posts, and within the lines of the army. This was accordingly effected, and the conference being a long one, the day was on the point of dawning, before it was completed.|| Here the British officer, obtained plans of the fortifications, and the returns of the different departments, which had been procured by Arnold, with so much diligence; and here, the traitor received the pledge of indemnity, and emolument, which was to be the reward of his villainy.[*] A difficulty now occurred, that had not been foreseen, or provided for. The business was completed, and nothing wanting but the return of Major André to the Vul ture. This was ordered done,[†] but the boatmen, already fatigued with having rowed twelve miles, would not consent to go back to the ship;[‡] particularly, as the ebb tide was setting strongly, and would have swept them below the vessel.

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* Appendix D. † Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. ‡ Idem.

§ Smith's Narrative. || Idem

The morning of the 22d, had fairly dawned, when the four pounder at Teller's point, opened upon the Vulture, and compelled her to shift her moorings.[§] Arnold, after remaining at Smith's house, with his victim, the greater part of the day, furnished passports, and prevailed upon Smith to accompany André through the American lines, by land, and hence the providential discovery of the plot, which, had it been successful, might have involved the country in irretrievable ruin.[||]

This portion of the plot seems to have been most clumsily contrived; and unless it was changed in part of its details, failed from its own stupidity. Why the Vulture should not have been ordered nearer to the place of meeting, if the interview which took place, was originally intended to be on the west side, and at the Long Clove, is very difficult to imagine. From Smith's account, boats were procured above the mouth of Haverstraw creek,[¶] and after passing the American forts, proceeded eight or nine miles below them, in order to bring André to the conference, and then to cross the river three or four miles, to carry him back to the Vulture. Most of the histories mention the change in the position of the ship, as the cause of the boatmen refusing to return to her; but as the tide was running ebb, she might have been reached with less labor, some miles below, than at her original anchorage; and according to Smith, they declined the attempt before the firing began.* But it is certain that the unexpected attack on the Vulture, which Arnold had not contemplated, alarmed, and disconcerted him. The firing had drawn the attention of the population to the vessel; the danger of a second visit was necessarily increased, and he, trembling for his own safety, was anxious to get André back to New York, in the most expeditious manner.

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[*] Smith's narrative. [†] Idem.

[‡] This part of Smith's narrative, is discredited by Mr. Sparks, and yet it is quite as credible as any other part of it. Stress is laid upon the declaration of Smith, on board the ship, that a horse would be in readiness to take André to his house; but if such was the original intention, it is very strange that it was not done immediately on landing; instead of wasting hours in the bushes, which might have been more conveniently spent in more comfortable quarters.

[§] Smith's narrative. [||] Idem. [¶] Idem.

The hand of Heaven was in this event, as it had been throughout the war, in many others most conspicuously. Had André exhibited a presence of mind worthy of his reputation for sagacity, the die had been cast, which sealed the fate of the Highland passes, and of the army. The garrison at West Point, weakened as it was, by the contrivances of Arnold, could not have made a successful resistance; yet they would have contended to the last, and the formidable forces which were destined to attack the post, being sufficiently numerous to assault it on all sides at once, would most probably have put the defenders to the sword.

On the 24th, General Washington reached Fishkill, on his return from Hartford, from his conference with Count Rochambeau;† and on the morning of the next day, with his aid Col. Hamilton, accompanied by Generals La Fayette and Knox, and their suite, set out to breakfast by appointment with Arnold at his head quarters.‡ The three Generals turned aside to visit a redoubt in the neighborhood, and the retinue went forward to request that Mrs. Arnold would not wait breakfast for them. While at breakfast,§ a dispatch was handed Arnold, which threw him into evident trepidation; and calling Mrs. Arnold out of the room, he informed her of the capture of André, and the necessity of his departure.* This intelligence was too appalling, not to affect her to the last degree, and overcome with terror, she fainted. No time could be spared for conjugal tenderness or sympathy, if any such existed, at such a moment, in a mind selfish in the extreme; he therefore returned to the room, informed the guests of the necessity of immediately repairing to West Point to prepare for the reception of the Commander-in-Chief; and mounting the horse of the messenger who had brought the letter, made all haste by the nearest path to the river.

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* Smith's narrative. † Hamilton's History. ‡ Idem.

§ Ten o'clock, according to Thatcher's journal.

Washington in the mean time arrived†, and being informed of Mrs. Arnold's illness, rode without dismounting to the ferry and crossed over to West Point. His arrival was most unexpected to the commander of the garrison, and the General expressed equal surprise at finding that Arnold had not preceded him. He did not long remain in suspense, for during his absence, dispatches had arrived, and being opened by Col. Hamilton, they disclosed the astounding intelligence of the capture of André, and the defection of Arnold. These were immediately forwarded to Washington, while Hamilton and McHenry, the aid of La Fayette, hurried to the water side, hoping to intercept the fugitive;‡ but found that he was beyond reach, on his way to the Vulture.

When Washington received this alarming intelligence, he communicated it to Col. Lamb,§ who was overwhelmed with consternation and surprise. Though conscious of his own rectitude, yet from his known friendship for Arnold, which had always been ardently avowed; and which had at one time nearly brought on a duel with an officer of the Gates faction in his defence;|| he could not but apprehend

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* Hamilton's History.

† 12 o'clock, according to Thatcher's journal. § Idem.

‡ Hamilton's History.

|| In proportion to the ardor and sincerity of his friendship for Arnold, Col. Lamb imbibed the most decided contempt and detestation for the

that he might possibly be suspected, as cognizant of the plot.* Perhaps at first, a surmise of that nature might have crossed the mind of Washington; but he must have been soon reassured by the honest glow exhibited in the countenance of Lamb, and the burst of indignation which followed the disclosure of Arnold's treachery.

The posts below, were in the vicinity of the house of Smith, who was obnoxious to suspicion; and wishing to make some enquiry, in the hope of discovering accomplices, if any ex-

apostate after his defection. By one of the numerous flags which passed the lines on the occasion of the capture of André, the officer who brought it was charged to present the regards of Gen. Arnold to Col. Lamb. Be good enough, sir, was the reply, to tell Gen. Arnold, that the acquaintance between us is forgotten; and that if he were to be hanged to-morrow, I would go barefooted to witness his execution.

But notwithstanding this change of feeling, he would never suffer the reputation of Arnold as a soldier to be called in question; or his courage and conduct in the field impeached, without defending both. Some years afterwards, when dining at Putnam's head quarters, in company with one of Gates's Brigadiers, who had served at Saratoga, the name of Arnold was introduced, when "Confusion to the traitor" was drank with great unanimity. And when his demerits had been freely discussed, Col. Lamb remarked that it was a pity so good a soldier, and a man of such consummate courage, should become so despicable a villain.

Consummate courage, sir! said Gen. G.: where has he ever exhibited any proof of such quality? Sir, said Col. Lamb, you astonish me by the question. In my judgment, it would be more difficult to point out an instance where he has not given ample evidence of bravery, than to enumerate the instances of his intrepidity. I was with him at the storm of Quebec, and at the battle of Compo; and am somewhat qualified to judge: and if these exploits are not sufficient, the battle of the 7th Oct., in 1777, and the storming of the German intrenchments, would add strength to my testimony Pshaw! sir, was the rejoinder; mere Dutch courage: He was drunk, sir. Sir, said Col. Lamb, let me tell you, that drunk or sober, *you* will never be an Arnold, or fit to compare with him in any military capacity. What do you mean by that, sir? exclaimed Gen. G. Literally and emphatically what I say, was the answer. Here Putnam (who lisped) broke in: Whath all thith, he said; God, cuth it, gentlemen, let the traitor go! Here's Wathington's health in a brimmer. This ended the conversation, and the matter was not pushed to farther arbitrament.

* Family tradition.

isted, Washington dispatched Col. Lamb, under injunctions of secrecy, to relieve Col. Livingston at Verplanck's Point. The order was in his own hand writing, and was in such terms as effectually removed the unpleasant feelings of him who was to execute it.

Sir:

It is my wish to see Col. James Livingston to-night, and I write him by you on the occasion. In his absence you will take command of the posts at Stoney and Verplanck's Point, till further orders.

I am, Sir,
With great regard and esteem,
Your most obed. serv.,
H'd Quarters, Robinson's House Go. Washington.*
in the Highlands.
Sept. 25, 1780.
† — o'clock, P. M.
To Col. John Lamb of the Artillery.

The discovery of a plot so dangerous, was enough to have shaken the nerves of most men; yet the firmness of the Commander-in-Chief was not discomposed by it; for the letter to Col. Livingston exhibits no marks of nervous trepidation, although it must have been penned within a very short period after the disclosure.

A letter was written to the Commander-in-Chief from Verplanck's, by Col. Lamb,‡ the copy of which is lost, but on the subject of which, the following reply will throw some light:

Robinson's House, the 26 Sept., 1780.

D'r Sir:

I have received your favor of to-day. We can not find on examination, any charge against Thomas Smith, and therefore we can not with propriety, take any measures respecting him. His situation, however, may become a subject of the State's consideration. As to Joshua Smith, he is in safe custody; and has had a good share in the matters which have been carrying on. He furnished Maj. André with a coat to disguise himself, who left his uniform one, and which Capt. Carnes will get, in consequence of a letter from Mr. Smith, for the purpose. You will send the Captain the enclosed. I wish you to say nothing of *this matter*, as we may possibly receive further intelligence with respect to the plot; or at least of other characters.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† The hour is obliterated by damp.

‡ Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

I am, d'r sir,
Y'r most obed. s't,
Go. Washington.*

Col. Lamb, at Verplanck's Point.

The next day brought an order to Col. Lamb to resume his command at West Point. He had found the posts at King's Ferry in no fit condition to repulse an enemy in case of attack; but by constant activity throughout the night, under his direction they were placed in an effective condition of defence.†

The defection of Arnold was a thunder stroke to his friends: and none were more utterly astounded by it than Col. Varrick, his warm hearted and ardent secretary and aid-de-camp. He too, had on all occasions espoused the cause of the unworthy General; and withstood the torrent of sycophancy and indirection that had exiled Arnold from the northern army.‡ He was at that time laboring under a debilitating disease; and the shock, combined with his illness, seemed to have utterly prostrated his physical and mental energies.§ The first letter he wrote to Col. Lamb, three days after the discovery, was so incoherent, that it required another the next day, but little less so to explain it.|| He had immediately upon the discovery of the plot, applied for a court of enquiry, and the least delay made him fidgety to the last degree. He threatened to be ——— troublesome to Gen. Heath, if farther delays were interposed. Under these influences, he thus wrote to Lamb: "My intellects are much deranged by indisposition, or rather by a complication of misfortunes, which must apologize to you for my scrawling and blotting in so

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Family history.

‡ Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

§ Idem

|| Idem.

scandalous a manner. A little touch of fever in the night, has much debilitated me."[*]

During all this time, the commissioners of sequestration were teazing him with questions relative to the horses, and other moveables of the absconding General.[†] At length he became sufficiently composed to indite the following letter:

Rob. House, Oct. 5th, 1780.

My Dear Colonel:

If the weather be fair and wholesome, I should be happy to pay General St. Clair, yourself, and my other friends, a short visit to-morrow morning; but I have no horse of my own here, nor yet a boat to convey me to you. If it be not inconvenient, you'll much oblige me by sending your barge.

I feel myself much recovered; I have last evening conquered the diarrhœa, by means of in substance by chewing it. I hope now soon to recover a little strength, if with the assistance of a little good living, I can be favored by some bracing north-west winds.

Is Gen. Schuyler at Poughkeepsie? If so, have you means of conveyance there? Or I believe General St. Clair will, in case of a certainty of his being there, oblige me by sending a horseman, with a letter to him. I shall want him much on my Court Martial, or enquiry into my conduct. I mean to make the most of this favorable opportunity, in showing to the World, a true portrait of my conduct, from the earliest period of the war, from stage to stage, 'till the memorable 25th Sept. last. On this occasion, you'll be of no small service to me, with respect to my line of conduct since my joining Arnold's family. We had two wagoners from Colonel Nichols's regiment; the first was discharged before Arnold's departure; the last has withdrawn himself without my knowledge, by whose order I know not, and has left the horses, wagon, and harness, God knows where. I never knew, nor did I concern myself about how many, and what kind of horses Arnold had. I never rode any of them, and was neither his steward, or overseer. I happily disclaimed both, in the first junction with his family. I remain with every sentiment of sincere regard, and esteem,

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[*] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

[†] Idem.

Dear Col.,
Your friend &
Hum'e Serv't,
Col. Lamb. Rich'd Varrick.*

But if those more immediately affected by the fall of the revolutionary Lucifer, were struck with astonishment, his other friends at a distance, were equally overwhelmed with the news. Oswald, who had been with him at Ticonderoga, and St. Johns; who fought at his side, when disabled at Quebec; who led his forlorn hope at that memorable storm, after his fall, and who had again rallied to his standard, at the obstinate battle of Compo, was not the least astounded by the event.† He had, after his resignation, entered into the printing, and publishing business, at Philadelphia; was appointed public printer, and was a resident of that city, during the time it was under Arnold's command. The warm regard indulged for his former leader, had been a little shaken by the meannesses, and extortion there exhibited; but for the final catastrophe, he was wholly unprepared. In a letter to Col. Lamb, of the 11th December, 1780, he thus unburthens his mind:

" Arnold's treachery was the principal subject of our two last letters. It will take up a small portion of this also, and then let his name sink as low in infamy, as it was once high in our esteem. Happy for him, and for his friends, it had been, had the ball which pierced his leg at Saratoga, been directed thro' his heart; he then would have finished his career in glory, but the remainder of his wretched existence, must now be one continued scene of horror, misery, and despair.

It must be confessed, that altho' he has been a principal, in producing one of the greatest events, that hath taken place in America; yet he has also displayed as vile a prostitution of principle, as ever disgraced human nature: in fact, he has convinced the world that he is as base a prostitute as this, or

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* Lamb papers. N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem.

> any other country ever nurtured to maturity; and as a punishment for the enormity of his crimes, the mark of Cain is branded on him in the most indelible characters. A mark by which " every one he meeteth shall know him, and slay him." So that the most eligible situation in life, nay, even the universe itself, can not secure him from the keen reproaches of his conscience; which will, perhaps, continue to harrow his soul beyond the verge of this present scene. On this stage, all good men will unite in execrating his memory to the latest posterity. Even villains, less guilty than himself, will not cease to upbraid him, and tho' they " approve the treason, they 'll despise the traitor."*

But few of the copies of the private letters of Col. Lamb, have been preserved, but we may venture to assume, that on this topic, they equalled any of those of his friends in bitterness of invective.

A Court Martial was ordered to try Joshua Smith, for participation in Arnold's plot, and he, thinking that the enquiry put to Arnold, respecting the flags between the two lines of the army, in the early part of the month, would make in his favor, insisted upon having the testimony of Col. Lamb.† He, however, was at that time not well able to attend, and in a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, he stated that his testimony would not be available, either for, or against the prisoner, and begged to be excused from attendance.‡ But the justice of Washington would not permit him to consent to the absence of any witness, which Smith deemed to be favorable to his case, and Col. Lamb attended as a witness.§ He confirmed the declaration of Smith, respecting the conversation at Arnold's table, already given from Smith's narrative; and the Court Martial, after an impartial hearing, could find nothing to justify farther proceedings against their prisoner. He was, however, handed over to the civil authorities, for a more thorough scrutiny. No indictments were found against him, but he was held in close durance for more

*Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. †Idem ‡Idem. §Idem.

than a year and a half,* when he contrived to make his escape to his friends in New York; from thence he went to England, where he took up his residence. The British periodicals of 1781, deceived by the discharge of Smith from the Court Martial, and probably ignorant of his subsequent imprisonment, declared that he had purposely betrayed André, and spoke of him with great contumely.† In 1808, seven years after the death of Arnold, as he would have it believed, he saw these publications, for the first time, and in his own justification, he published a narrative of the transactions in which he was engaged,‡ which is only valuable for its facts, so far as they are substantiated by other testimony. In this book he tries to make it appear, that he was the simple catspaw of Arnold, and carried the flag to the Vulture, in good faith to the American government. It is quite probable that he was in some measure, the dupe of that artful, and designing man; who trusted him no farther than his own safety, and convenience would warrant; but that he was in every respect, as deeply implicated in the nefarious scheme, as the capacity of his mind would justify the confidence of its devisers, is beyond all question.

While the former friends of Arnold were execrating him, and his baseness, and casting him for ever from their affections, he was vainly expecting some sympathy from those who had so often fought his battles with the Gates faction, and fondly hoped his defection would inflict a vital wound upon the power and resources of the government; and even, that his example would stimulate others to abandon the American cause. Some desertions took place from the garrison about this period;|| but the coincidence was most probably accidental, and the individuals of the army, of every grade, seemed to vie with each other in the bitterness of their denunciations. Every memento of his name was expunged from the garrison which he had so basely undertaken

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* Smith's narrative. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

|| Lamb papers.

to betray, and Fort Arnold, the original appellation* of the first fortifications erected at West Point, is unknown in history, and only to be found in the military correspondence, and garrison orders of that day.†

The dangerous conspiracy of this abominable man, was long premeditated, and artfully carried on. He had received many causes of mortification, and disgust, at an early period of the revolution. He had been neglected in the promotions of 1777, and juniors of very inferior merit, and capacity, placed in command above him; and it was not until his brilliant achievements at Ridgefield, and Compo, that the tardy justice of Congress raised him to a rank, which his former services had so richly merited.‡ Even then, the inefficient officers which had so unjustly superseded him, out-ranked him, whenever the service brought them together. Gen. Washington did what he could to prevent this, and to remedy the evils inflicted upon him. And well knowing his efficiency in the field, he sent him to the north as a powerful auxiliary to General Schuyler. The success of his expedition to relieve Fort Stanwix, added to his military reputation; but on his return, he found the excellent Schuyler about to be superseded in his command; and the vain and arrogant Gates, the head of the monster faction, in conspiracy against Washington, placed in his stead. The new commander of the northern army, had gathered round him a host of malcontents and scycophants, ready to indulge his vanity; and prepared to gratify his spleen against all who were known to be opposed to his designs. The irritability of Arnold was full equal to the arrogance of Gates;§ and means were not lacking to excite it to the uttermost. Like Hotspur, the angry General was "pestered with popinjays" and the haughtiness of the commander, aided by the petty annoyances of his subordinates, galled the temper of a spirit, in whom

"The first sin that peopled hell,"

glowed with all its fierceness.

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* The fortification originally called Fort Arnold, is now Fort Clinton.

† Journals of Congress ‡ Idem. § Wilkinson's Memoirs.

His skill and intrepidity had gained two important victories;* and laurels bravely won, had been torn from him, to deck the brow of his vain glorious cotemporary. These were sufficient to sour a mind, not very placable. But these, and the merited rebuffs and disgraces which he received from the government of Pennsylvania and Congress, would not perhaps have driven him to infamy, had not the same cause that lost Mark Antony the empire, lured him to embrace it. There is little doubt that his beautiful and accomplished wife, was the prime mover of the grand conspiracy; and that the account in Davis's life of Burr, derived from Mrs. Burr, who had been the wife of Maj. Prevost, of the British army, is strictly correct.† ‡

The scene which deceived the sagacity of Washington himself, and won the sympathies of all the gallant spirits around him, was inimitably well performed; and her services in bringing over her husband to the British side, were well compensated by the countenance of royalty, to her and her unworthy mate; and with the addition of a pension to herself, from the Queen, out of her privy purse, which she enjoyed during her life time.§

The tragedy which followed, gave to the name of Arnold a melancholy celebrity; and kept him for a longer period in the mind of his former comrades. But in the grave of André was entombed, all but the infamy, of him who caused his death: nor could the parricidal efforts of the traitor against his countrymen, add to the weight of opprobrium with which his name was loaded, and which blotted for ever his former glory.

His bombastic addresses and manifestos, although they may have helped to bolster his consequence with those who had bought the "filthy bargain," produced nothing but contempt and derision from the hardy associates he had abandoned, and his name became a by-word and reproach, to mark the depth of degradation and villainy.

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* Marshall. † Davis's Burr. ‡ Marbois' Biograpby of Arnold.

§ Information to the writer in 1801, by Hannah Arnold, sister of the General.

Shortly after the flight of Arnold, the garrison at West Point was, on the 5th Oct., increased; and Gen. McDougall took charge of the post,* until superseded by St. Clair; while Col. Lamb still remained as commandant of artillery, and continued in garrison, until the army went into winter quarters.† He then resumed his station at Fishkill, while the major part of the regiment, under Lieut.-Col. Stevens, were at head quarters at New Windsor.‡ The question of rank between Col. Crane and himself being still suspended, this arrangement prevented a clashing of authority on the score of seniority, as Col. Crane was with his regiment in camp. A severe indisposition compelled him to seek some relaxation from military duty, and he joined his family at Southington, where he remained until the state of his health enabled him to resume his duties at Fishkill.§

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

CHAPTER XX.

Attack on Fort George.—Fort Ann.—Brant's Incursion.—Repelled.—Distress of the Army.—Mutiny, Wayne's Division.—British tamper with Mutineers.—Overtures rejected.—Holland and Spain.—Design on New York.—Conference at Wethersfield.—Attempt fails.—Dispatches stolen.—Moody the Spy.—Smith.—Arnold.—Preparations for the South.—Rev. Mr. Mason's Letter.—Order to march.—Cross the Hudson.—The Delaware.—Head of Elk.—James River.—Yorktown invested.—Redoubts stormed.—French Battery carried.—Retaken.—Chamade.—Capitulation.—1780, 1781.

Sir Henry Clinton's covert scheme of finishing the war, having failed, he had an opportunity to retrieve his reputation, by an open attack upon the fortresses which he so confidently considered as his own. But had he been so disposed, he would have found the garrison of sufficient force to repel him; and officers within its walls, who would have defended it to the last extremity.* Beside the former commander of the post, now in charge of the artillery, there were Gansevoort and Willett, signalized at Fort Stanwix;† with Thayer, who had so bravely defended Fort Mifflin.‡ The reputation which all these men had gained, was sufficient warrant of a resolute defence; and it was matter of regret to all at the station, that the British General did not attempt to redeem by chivalry, the failure of the stratagem, which had terminated so ingloriously to all concerned. Movements were made at the north,§ which seemed to be in concert with the design of Sir Henry to obtain the passes of the Hudson. The forts at Lake George and Fort Ann were taken,|| and the valley of the Mohawk, was again invaded by the sanguinary horde under Johnson and Brant, that had ravaged it in May.¶ But the enemy from the north, advanced no farther

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

‡ Idem.

§ Marshall.

|| Idem.

¶ Idem.

down the Hudson; and the marauders on the Mohawk, were repelled by the state forces under the Governor and Colonel Van Rensselaer, before the detachment under General James Clinton, ordered to that quarter, could reach the scene of action.*

The star of the British commander was more auspicious in the south; and after annihilating Gates at Camden, Cornwallis remained master of the country; until the appointment of General Greene to the southern department, changed the aspect of affairs in that quarter.†

Washington had struggled through difficulties which had attended the close of the campaign of 1779; and the unexampled patience of the troops, had enabled him to keep his army in subordination, during the severe privations to which it was subjected.‡ The same state of starvation and wretchedness, was again approaching; and the fortitude of the commander, and the endurance of the men were to be put to a farther trial.§ But a portion of the army would no longer remain passive under the accumulation of misery; and a part of Wayne's division of Pennsylvania troops, revolted.|| After killing one of their officers who had endeavored to arrest them, they would have taken the life of their commander also, had he not prudently desisted from farther efforts to coerce them to submission.¶ Sir Henry Clinton, now imagined that some effect had been produced by Arnold's manifesto; and that he should yet reap a harvest from the seeds of disaffection which he had endeavored to sow. Emissaries were despatched from New York, to tamper with these revolters;** but so far from having had any disposition to join the enemy, the proffers of the British General were sent to Wayne; and the emissaries themselves, were kept in durance by the discontented troops, until their grievances were redressed.†† A part of the New Jersey line, followed the example of their brethren of Pennsylvania, and the Commander-in-Chief sent a detachment under General How, to reduce them to submission; which was done without bloodshed.*

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* Marshall. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem. || Idem and Thatcher's Journal. ¶ Marshall. ** Idem. †† Idem.

A gleam of sunshine now spread over the benighted prospects of the country, in the accession of Holland to the armed neutrality, and the subsequent declaration of war against that power, by England;† by which a powerful ally was gained against the common enemy, and a negotiation was in train, to bring Spain too, into the confederacy, although it was not brought to successful issue, without the concession of our right to navigate the Mississippi to the Ocean, and the claim of a free port, at the mouth of the river, were abandoned. In spite of every discouragement, preparations were made for an attack on New York, in conjunction with the French army. An interview between the two commanders, took place at Wethersfield;‡ and a correspondence was carried on between them, to mature the plan, and determine the time of the attack. The army took the field, and assembled at Peekskill, and the first of July was the time fixed upon for the expedition. The enemy had detached a large force into New Jersey, and all circumstances seemed favorable to success. Gen. Lincoln, who had been taken at Charleston, and now recently exchanged for Gen. Phillips, of Burgoyne's army, was despatched in force, down the river in the night, to take a favorable position, which was done near the enemy's lines, unperceived.§ But on the opening of the day, it was discovered that the British had recalled their army from Jersey, and were strongly intrenched at the head of the island. This force was too formidable to be assailed, and the attempt, together with another, to surprise Delancy's corps, near Morrisania,|| connected with it failed.

About this time, a Captain James Moody, the identical prisoner held in irons at West Point, at the suggestion of Mr. Duer, the year before, was sent with others from New York, to assassinate Governors Clinton, and Livingston, and the Commander-in-Chief. In this they failed; but Moody was successful in stealing the despatches passing from head quarters to Congress, detailing the plan fixed upon by the two commanders, for the attack on the city;* and hence the recall of the troops from New Jersey, and the formidable preparations of the enemy to frustrate the enterprise. These despatches were brought in at the same time that Joshua Smith, the supposed confederate of Arnold, who had been conducted through the American lines, after his escape from prison, reached the city; and probably the same daring hand that purloined the despatches, contrived, and effected the escape of the suspected accomplice of the traitor.†

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* Marshall. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem. || Idem.

While the allied armies were encamped near Dobbs's Ferry, in Westchester county, the country which had been abandoned by its former inhabitants, was made the source of supplies. The former proprietors were of both parties, and the commissioners of the State of New York had sequestered the estates of the tories to the public use. Col. Udney Hay, who had been Assistant Quarter-Master-General of the Middle Department, had been appointed agent of the State, to take this property and other matters in charge. He accordingly, in conformity to an act of the Legislature of New York, of 1st July, 1781, notified the Quarter-Master-General, Col. Pickering, of his authority; and made a demand for compensation for forage and supplies taken; and for waste committed, upon what had become the domain of the State.‡ The whig refugees respectively, also made the same claim upon the government. The Quarter-Master-General felt himself embarrassed by these demands; and suits being threatened, he requested instructions from head quarters. The Commander-in-Chief declined to interfere; and Col. Pickering referred the matter to Congress. An angry controversy was carried on for some time, between the agent of the State and the committees of the refugees, on the one hand; and the Quarter-Master-General on the other.§ The matter was finally adjusted, by a resolve of Congress, passed towards the close of the year, directing Gen. Heath to submit the matter to arbitration; and the award and expenses were borne by the government.*

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* Smith's narrative. † Idem.

‡ Tillinghast papers, in Historical Society Library. § Idem.

The design upon New York having failed, Washington resolved upon operations in the south; but in order to conceal his purpose, he still continued in the neighborhood of the enemy; at the same time, every preparation was made for the intended expedition.† While engaged in preparing his corps for the march, Col. Lamb received the following letter from a reverend clerical friend, who seems to have scanned the policy of the government with the sagacity of a soldier.

West Point, Aug. 10, '81.

My Dear Sir:

We have not any news here that deserves a transmission to you. The enemy's establishing a post, somewhere about lake George, is reported, and contradicted, believed, and treated as a falsehood. This is all I know of the affair. Generally, we have bread; sometimes beef. The three months men are popping in from the eastward. Col. Nichols, with his invalids, lately arrived here from Philadelphia. A number of these, unfortunate men, are capable of doing no duty, but eating their rations. In their dress, and other circumstances, you may, however, see visible characters of the gratitude of the country, to the brave men, who have bled in its cause. It is no doubt a piece of refined policy, to bring these maimed men from a distant post, to present them to our soldiery, who have sagacity enough to infer, that after losing eyes, hands, and feet, in the public service, that their patriotic sufferings will be amply rewarded, by being put in possession of the honors conferred on the invalid corps. They will, I understand, be parcelled out to Fishkill, Fishkill Landing, Newburgh, and New Windsor, where some of them may be employed in easy duty.

As I am not in possession of cabinet secrets, it would be presumption in me, to say, the hopes of some leading men respecting an attempt on New York, are ill-founded: but when I consider the present state of our public affairs, I can not help fearing that nothing of importance will be done. Possibly I may be mistaken: I wish I may.

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* Journals Congress.

† Lamb papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.

The salvation of America will not be owing to our policy or exertions; but to that grace, that has hitherto supported us, and interposed for us, when our hope was at the lowest ebb.

I am, dear sir,
Your affectionate friend,
John Mason [*]

Col. Lamb.

At length the order to march was given,[†] and the artillery, placed under the orders of Col. Lamb, broke up from Dobbs's Ferry, and, moving up the river, crossed at King's Ferry with the ordnance and stores to the west bank; and joining the division under Gen. Lincoln, they took up their march for the Delaware; while the manœuvres of another part of the army seemed to indicate to the enemy only a change of position for the apprehended attack upon the city. The artillery was reinforced on the march, by the companies from West Point, which had been ordered to join upon the route;[‡] and the division of Lincoln, crossing at Trenton, 31st August, joined the main army at Philadelphia.[§] There the heavy artillery, ordnance and stores, were embarked for Christiana bridge; and, on the 10th Sept., transported across to the head of Elk river, which falls into the Chesapeake bay;[||] while the army proceeded with all dispatch to the same point, in order to embark for James river.[¶] So well were these designs concerted, that Washington had begun his march from Philadelphia, before Sir Henry Clinton was apprised of his intention, and found that it was too late to succor his southern army.[**]

Calms and head winds, retarded the passage down the Chesapeake, and it was not until the twenty-fifth of September that the artillery arrived in James river.[††] Col. Lamb was ordered to survey the river, in order to find a convenient

[*] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. [†] Idem. [‡] Idem. [§] Idem. [||] Idem. [¶] Idem. [**] Marshall. [††] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc

point for the debarkation of the *materiel* of his department.* A position at Trebel's Landing was selected, and the greatest expedition was made to get on shore the battering train and the stores of the ordnance. Before these were in a state of readiness, the army marched down the peninsula, and on the 27th, took post within a mile of the enemy's intrenchments, at Yorktown.† The French army arrived the next day, and took position on the American left; and the town was completely invested on the land side, while the ships of France cut off all hope of escape by water.‡ The most unremitting labor was necessary to perfect the necessary batteries; but the British General gave some facility to this, by withdrawing from his out-works, and concentrating his troops within the town. The besiegers persevered with great industry in constructing their works, under a heavy fire of shot and shells from the enemy; and it was not until the 9th of October, in the evening, that the American batteries were prepared to play upon the lines of the enemy.§

A general order was issued,‖ enjoining upon the artillery great attention to the precision of their fire; and that the ammunition should not be uselessly expended; and the officers were ordered to point the guns themselves. In addition to the general officers in command in the trenches, a field officer of artillery was each day detailed for that service; and another officer, of like rank, was instructed to take the direction of the park, and superintend the proper supplies for the trenches.¶ As soon as the batteries were ready to open, on the 9th Oct., La Fayette was ordered to the trenches; and Lamb, who took this tour of duty in rotation with his Lieut.-Col., Stevens, Lieut.-Col. Carrington, and Major Bauman, was the field officer of the day.** The first gun was prepared and pointed, and Washington himself now applied the match.†† A roar of the enemy's cannon from all

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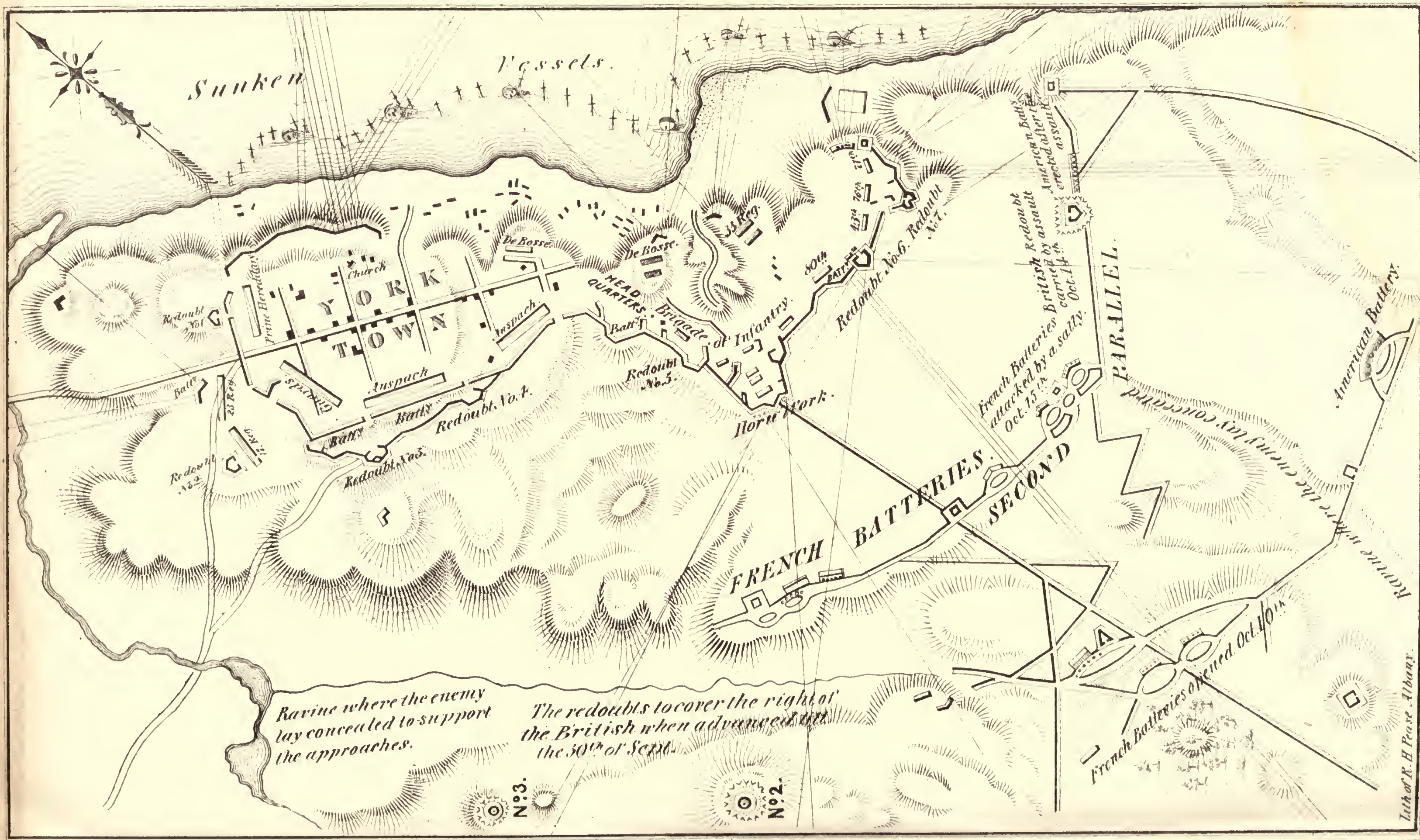
* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Marshall. § Idem.
‖ Vide Appendix. ¶ Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. ** Idem.
†† Thatcher's Journal.


Sunken Vessels.
YORK TOWN
Church
Prine Hereditary
Redoubt No1
Batty
23 Reg.
17 Reg.
Redoubt No2
Guards
Anspach
Batty
Batty
Redoubt No3
Redoubt No4
Anspach
De Bosse
De Bosse
HEAD QUARTERS
Batty
Brigade of Infantry.
Redoubt No5
Horn Work.
33 Reg.
80th Batty
43rd
76th
71st
Redoubt No.6.
Redoubt No.7.
French Batteries attacked by a sally. Oct. 15th
British Redoubt carried by assault Oct. 14th
American Batty erected after the assault
SECOND PARALLEL.
FRENCH BATTERIES.
Ravine where the enemy lay concealed
American Battery.
French Batteries opened Oct. 10th
Ravine where the enemy lay concealed to support the approaches.
The redoubts to cover the right of the British when advanced till the 30th of Sept.
No3.
No2.

Lith of R. H Pease Albany.

beggars" was better understood there, than by those in the disputed redoubt.* He did not long enjoy his conquest, for the guards rallied from the trenches and drove him back to the town.† The place was becoming, hourly, more and more untenable; and Cornwallis resolved upon a desperate effort to cut his way through the detachment of De Lauzun on the Gloucester side, and force a passage to the northward. Some progress was made in this enterprise, but a storm dispersing the boats provided for the passage of the river, he was compelled to abandon the design.‡

The second parallel was now completed. The division of Steuben was ordered to the trenches, and it being Col. Lamb's tour of duty, he was charged with the direction of the artillery.§ The fire on this day, was the most severe that had yet been opened upon the enemy; and so murderous was the effect, that about ten o'clock in the morning, Cornwallis beat a parley, and a cessation of hostilities ensued. The firing was not again renewed; and the remainder of the day, and the next after, being employed in adjusting terms: on the nineteenth day of October, the capitulation was signed, and the garrison marched out as prisoners of war.||

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* Traditional History. † Marshall. ‡ Idem.

§ Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. || Marshall.

CHAPTER XXI.

American Artillery.—Complimented in General Order.—Ordered to the North.—Burlington.—Letter from Gov. Clinton —Col. Willett.—Government of Vermont.—Letter to Washington.—Reply.—Effects of the Capture of York.—Negotiations.—Inactivity of Congress.—Of the States generally.—Vigor of New York.—Of Connecticut.—Fourth of July at Trenton.—March from Burlington.—Address of the Citizens. —Cessation of hostilities at the North.—Conflicts on the Sound.

The skill exhibited in the service of the American batteries, astonished their more experienced allies; particularly, as the officers of that corps, with a single exception,* and he not a man educated in the army, were all native officers; and such was the conduct of the artillery, that the commander of the brigade received the especial thanks of Washington, in general orders; and he was enjoined to convey the General's acknowledgments to the whole corps, for the signal display of bravery, and skill, which they had at all times exhibited.† The French too, as they well deserved, received a due proportion of His Excellency's commendation; and the regiments of Augenois, and Deux Ponts, were particularly complimented by a present of the two brass pieces captured in the redoubt stormed by them.‡

The injunctions of the Commander-in-Chief were obeyed by Gen. Knox, and the brigade orders, reiterated in his own behalf, the praises which had been won by the officers of his corps, by the gallantry which they had displayed in the trenches.§ On the 20th October, the first division of the artillery was ordered to the head of Elk, and the commander, not being prepared immediately to follow, the corps was placed in charge of Col. Lamb, and ordered for the north.||

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* Major Bauman.

† Appendix D. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

|| Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

The first division was peculiarly favored, and arrived, on the 5th of November, at the place of transit to the Delaware; but the residue were detained by bad weather, until late in the month, so that the heavy train, with the ordnance stores, were not landed on the east bank of the Delaware, near Burlington, until the first of the ensuing month.* Here, Col. Lamb was directed to remain with part of the corps, while the residue, with the field Artillery, were ordered to the North river.† Col. Lamb now applied for leave of absence, in order to attend to some pressing affairs with the Legislature of New York, in relation to his regiment; this was granted; but it was not until some days afterwards that the situation of the command, enabled him to take his leave of the camp.‡ Before his departure he received the following letter from Gov. Clinton:

POKEEPSIE, 17 January, 1782.
Confidential.

Dear Sir:

My last, acknowledged the receipt of your favors of the 6th, and 16th of October, and was forwarded to Philadelphia a few days after the latter came to hand.

It is with particular satisfaction, I can now a'dress§ a line to you in winter quarters, and congratulate you on the distinguished success of the campaign, in the capture of a whole army. I am persuaded you will believe me, when I assure you it added to the pleasure I received from that glorious event, so honorable to the arms of America, and equally humiliating to British pride, and arrogance, when I was informed you had survived the dangers of the field. There is nothing new in this quarter, worth communicating. The frontiers of the state, since your departure, have suffered some injury; tho' perhaps less than we had reason to apprehend, considering their extent, and exposed situation; they are now in a great measure, rendered secure by the frost. The usurped government of Vermont, continues to be as troublesome, and insolent as ever; and what I have long suspected, " the leaders being in league with the enemy," is daily rendered more probable. Indeed, in my opinion, the evidence of it is as conclusive, as from the nature of the case, can be expected. I hope greater cordiality prevails at Burlington, than does in this department, where I am informed, some unhappy differences subsist, between the senior General, and next in command, in consequence of which, the latter was lately arrested.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

§ This is the second instance only, discovered in the examination of a voluminous correspondence, in which the omission of a letter, is denoted by accentuation; a practice used even in printed books, two centuries ago.

Adieu, & believe me Dear Sir,
With great regard & esteem,
Your
Most
Obed't Serv't,
GEO. CLINTON.*

Colonel JOHN LAMB.

He also received a letter from his old coadjutor, and friend, Willett, and as every relic of that extraordinary man is valuable, it is inserted entire :

ALBANY, 14 January, 1782.

Dear Sir :

Permit me to congratulate you on the profusion of successes, that have attended the arms employed throughout the World, in the year 1781, against the imperious Britons. May they become properly sensible of their true importance, and embrace the opportunities that the year '82 may afford them, of making their peace, before it becomes totally hid from their eyes. I think this is truly praying for my enemies, and it is doing much more than they have a right to expect from me; but inasmuch as peace and liberty, are the objects of our contention, let the haughty wretches be preserved from entire destruction, if it can be done, and we have our objects secured.

Congress, among other things, owe me a sword. I have formerly wrote to my friend Goforth, to call on the Commissary General of military stores, for it; but as Major Goforth does not live in Philadelphia; and as I am told, you have taken up your quarters there; this, together with your common connections with the Commissary-General of Military Stores, who is an officer in your department, induces me to request you to enquire of him, whether he has procured me a sword, agreeable to the resolution of Congress for that purpose, in October 1777; as it appears to me, there has been sufficient time for the purpose.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

I flatter myself, your candor will excuse my troubling you with this matter.

Mrs. Willett joins me in respects,
With Dear Sir, Yours most sincerely,
MARINUS WILLETT.*

Col. LAMB.

The reply is as follows:

BURLINGTON, 12th Feb'y, 1782.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 14th ult. came to hand a few days since. I feel myself extremely happy, in having been in some measure, an agent, in reducing the power and pride of Britain; and hope the next campaign, will put an end to the horrors of war; that every friend to the rights of America may soon enjoy the inestimable blessings of peace; and every one of us, "sit down under our own vine, and own fig tree, and none to make us afraid."

I have made the necessary enquiry respecting your sword, but I fear it will be some time before you will have the pleasure of wearing it; as the public Finances are not yet in a situation of doing justice, even to individuals.

Present my best wishes to Mrs. Willett, and believe me, with great sincerity, Dear Sir,
Your friend and Servant,
JOHN LAMB.†

Col. MARINUS WILLETT.

The reply to Governor Clinton's letter is as follows:

BURLINGTON, 14th February, 1782.

Dear sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 15th and 17th ultimo; the former of which did not reach my hands 'til yesterday. Agreeably to your request, I now enclose you a monthly return of the regiment under my command, from which you will see the present state of it. I have likewise inclosed you a statement of the recruits that have joined the regiment since the late arrangements of the army.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc

† Idem.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that altho' there are bickerings and heart burnings between the officers in some of the departments; the greatest harmony and cordiality subsists at this place. The only complaint is a want of money, which is a source of vexation and uneasiness to me; to whom the officers and men, look up, in some degree, for redress. But alass! it is not in my power to remove the cause of their complaints. The only consolation I have at present, is the soldiers being better clothed, than they have been at any time, since the commencement of the war; and that every exertion will be made by the state, to do justice to these troops, whenever they are in a situation to do it.

I believe with your Excellency, that the leaders in the state of Vermont, (as they are pleased to call it,) are in league with the enemy; and I wish they may carry matters so far as to convince Congress of the necessity of taking them in hand before it is too late.* I flatter myself I shall have the pleasure of seeing you soon, as I intend setting out for Poughkeepsie in a few days.

I am, with every sentiment of the most perfect respect,
Your Excellency's
Obed't Serv't,
JOHN LAMB.†

His Excellency,
Gov. CLINTON.

A storeship had been expected from France, with clothing for the army, but it was taken by the enemy; and as many of the officers were but scantily clad, the financier, with the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, issued notes to the officers, redeemable in six months in specie, for two months pay, to enable them to provide the necessary apparel. These payments extended to the officers alone; and Col. Lamb, being unwilling to receive relief for himself, while his soldiers were unprovided, called a meeting of his officers, and proposed to reject the proffered advance, unless it was also given to the men. To his great gratification, they unanimously agreed with him; and a letter was sent to the Commander-in-Chief, declining to receive the advance, and explaining the ground of refusal. The following letter is the result of the correspondence :*

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* The allusion to the leaders of Vermont, has reference to a negociation which had been on foot with the emissaries of the British Government, for the erection of a royal province out of the territories claimed by New York and New Hampshire, in possession of the Vermonters. The cession of New York of their portion of the country, was not made until after the adoption of the Federal Constitution; when, in 1798, Vermont agreed to pay to the state of New York, an indemnity to the claimants under her grants; and the right of soil and jurisdiction over the debateable land, was forever relinquished by New York.

† Lamb papers, N. Y Hist. Soc.

PHILADELPHIA, 15 February, 1782.

Gentlemen :

I was last evening fav'd with yours of the 13th, by which I perceive that you are not fully acquainted with the motive which influences the superintendant of Finance, to issue to the officers only, promissary notes to a certain amount, payable in six months.

It was expected that the arrival of a store-ship from France, would have put it in our power to have supplied the officers with the necessary articles of clothing; but that ship has unfortunately miscarried. The financier, upon being informed of this, and knowing the distress of the greater part of the officers, immediately set about devising a plan by which he might afford relief to their wants, without involving himself deeper in those difficulties, with which he is perplexed by the scantiness of the public funds. Upon inquiry, he found gentlemen of this city, willing to supply a quantity of goods proper for the army, at their places of cantonment, at a credit of six months, as low as they can be procured elsewhere. He therefore proposed to me the measure which is now about to be adopted: that of giving each officer a note for a certain sum, payable in six months, which the owners of the goods will receive in payment. There is no obligation upon any officer to take these notes; or, when he has received them, to lay them out in clothing. Should he have supplied himself beforehand, he may keep them until the time of payment—he may discount them, or he may lay them out in any kind of stores proper for the campaign. By this, justice is done to the officer, and no injustice to the soldier. The public have complied with their contract, in furnishing the soldier with his clothing in the specific articles. They now do the same by the officers, by advancing them a certain sum of money as a substitute. Should any uneasiness or misconceptions arise in the minds of the soldiery, you, gentlemen, and the other officers now fully acquainted with the circumstances, may easily quiet them.

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*Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

I can not conclude this letter, without expressing my approbation of the laudable motives by which you were actuated, at the time of writing. It gives me pleasure to see officers wishing to share hardships, as well as benefits, with their soldiers.

I am, with great esteem, gent'n,
Y'r most obed. and h'ble serv't,
Go. Washington.*

Col. Lamb and Lt.-Col. Stevens.

The surrender of Cornwallis, was a death blow to the hopes of the British commander. His too tardy efforts to succor his beleaguered general, had been unavailing; and the armament was remanded to New York, to pursue the same cautious system, which had characterized the preceding campaign. Nor did Sir Guy Carleton, who relieved Sir Henry Clinton in command, adopt a more enterprising system. The speech from the throne, was sufficiently belligerent; but measures of a pacific tendency, had been debated in Parliament, and the new commander, in conjunction with the Admiral of the station, were entrusted with overtures to Congress of a pacific character. Still the war in the south was prosecuted with great activity; and after a succession of defeats, the enemy were driven into Charleston; and Gen. Greene, was enabled to concentrate his forces for their final expulsion.

The Commander-in-Chief apprehended that the signal success at Yorktown, would have the effect to relax the activity of Congress; and that the pacific aspect of the Parliamentary proceedings, would arrest the necessary efforts to put the army in an efficient condition. He therefore remained in Philadelphia, bending the whole force of his influence, to rouse them to the necessary exertions to provide for a vigorous campaign. He did his best to stimulate the authorities of the States to second his views in that respect; but his success was very limited, as many of them, declared their inability to levy farther taxes from the people. The indefatigable Governor of New York, responded to the call with his usual promptitude, and left nothing undone within the scope of his power, to put the quota of the State upon the best possible footing; and Col. Lamb was now on his way to the seat of the State government, to procure the means of filling the companies of his regiment. The great influence of the governor was exerted with effect; and to the extraordinary efforts of that patriotic individual, the country is indebted for efficient aid to the main army, and the checks given by the forces of the State, during the preceding year, to the marauding parties from the north and west; by which means, those important frontiers were guarded, without the necessity of weakening the force necessary to keep the British general inactive in New York. A portion of Lamb's regiment was raised in Connecticut, and many of the officers and men were natives of that State; who, by the new arrangement of the army, were to be provided for by that government. New York had passed an act for the liquidation of a part of the arrears of pay for 1780 in specie; which afforded important relief to the soldiers of that State, to whom alone it was extended. Sensible of the hardships of this discrimination, and of the injurious effects it might have upon the public service, Col. Lamb, on the 19th June, wrote to governor Trumbull of Connecticut, detailing the peculiar condition of this class of his regiment, and begged his influence with the authorities of his State, to remedy the evil. The appeal was met in the same spirit of patriotism, which had marked the conduct of that excellent functionary, throughout the war.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

The artillery had been kept in readiness for marching, yet the Commander-in-Chief had not ordered it from Burlington. This was the first time that Col. Lamb had been stationed in pleasant quarters, while the heads of the army were roughing it in camp: and this comfortable situation endured much longer than was at first contemplated; for the officers of the regiment had the gratification of spending the national birth day with the whigs of New Jersey, at Trenton, by the special invitation of their veteran governor Livingston, which closes as follows:

"I make no comparisons, because they say, they are odious; but you will find no *vinegar faces* here, on such an occasion."

The order for marching was at length given, on the 28th Aug., and the camp was soon in motion for the Hudson. While at Burlington, the strictest discipline was enjoined; and the men were prevented from exercising the licentious depredations, too frequently practised by the soldiery. That city had not always been as well protected from military annoyance; and the inhabitants were so well satisfied on the occasion, that a meeting of the citizens voted an address of thanks in the following terms:

To the Hon'ble
John Lamb Esquire, Colonel of the second regiment of artillery, and commandant of the troops lately quartered in the city of Burlington.

Sir:

The inhabitants of the city of Burlington, take this method to acknowledge, with the greatest pleasure, and satisfaction, their obligations to the commandant, and the officers of the second regiment, and detachment of the third regiment of artillery; the officers of the corps of Sappers, and Miners, and the officers of the Artificers, quartered for several months past, in this place, for their assiduous attention, and care to the rights of the citizens, in preserving the greatest subordination, good order, and regularity, amongst the several corps under their command; and the inhabitants request, sir, that you and the officers, would accept of their sincere acknowledgments for such care and attention, and communicate the same to the soldiers under your command.

If any troops hereafter shall be quartered in this city, we shall mention with grateful satisfaction, the worthy corps under your command, and wish only, that in their behavior, they may pay the same regard to the rights of the inhabitants, and imitate the good example, set by the troops which have just marched from this place, with such regularity to the eastward.

That a speedy end may be put to the war; and you sir, the officers and troops under your command, may again enjoy the blessings of domestic life, is the sincere, and fervent wish of the citizens of Burlington.

Signed by desire, and in behalf
of the Inhabitants,
Jos. Bloomfield, Chairman.*

Burlington,
Aug't 28th, 1782.

The friends of Col. Lamb confidently expected that he would be promoted by Congress, for the signal services he had rendered the country at the siege of Yorktown, as well as upon former occasions. He had had the command of a brigade, throughout the march to the head of Elk,† and so certain seemed his promotion, that he received many letters, congratulating him upon the prospect of his advancement; and more than one of the subalterns of his regiment, made application to become his aid.‡ He certainly, and with good reason, expected the commission of Brigadier; but Congress were niggard of their rewards, and confined their favors to the commander of the artillery, who was made a Major-General.

Hostilities at the north had terminated, and both armies remained inactive within their lines, until after the preliminary articles of peace were signed, when the American forces went into quarters for the winter, in the vicinity of West Point. There was a branch of the belligerents, however, that seemed little to regard the pacific attitude of the main armies, and there had been a constant warfare kept up between partizans from the south shore of Connecticut, and the adherents of the British, on Long Island. Some most desperate battles were fought upon the sound, between whale boats of opposite parties, and many bloody encounters took place in the bays of either coast, which were well remembered many years after the war.* A Lieutenant of Lamb's regiment, was one of the most daring of these leaders; and the information which he frequently obtained, relative to the plans of the enemy in his expeditions, was so important that he was furloughed, and permitted to cruise in the sound, for the purpose of obtaining secret intelligence.†

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* The same officer who was a Major-General in the last war with England.

† Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

‡ Idem.

The knowledge of the overtures of the British, for an accommodation, did not interrupt this state of hostility, and even after the preliminary articles of peace were signed, their combats were as sanguinary as ever. Witness the following letter :‡

FAIRFIELD, 12th Dec'r, 1782.

Dear Sir :

Your letter of 19th Oct'r last, a few days ago. Am sorry that my answer to yours, requesting me to get some money for you, has miscarried. Agreeable to your directions, I sent one of my men with it to Mr. Lawrence, at Danbury, who took charge of, and forwarded it, unfortunately by an unsafe hand. The business you requested me to do for you, I put in train, and am hopeful by the time I am able to cross the sound again, it will be finished; as soon as it is, I shall inform you.

Last Saturday, I had a severe action on the water, with

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* Could the traditional history of these sanguinary encounters be collected, they would afford matters for the pens of Cooper, and Hoffman, as fertile as any of those which they have rendered so interesting. The writer of this had a relative who was engaged in one of the bloodiest of these combats. In a twelve oared barge, on the point of landing on the Long Island shore, he received a volley from a party in ambuscade, which prostrated the whole crew, and when his boat was picked up, by a vessel cruizing in the sound, he, and one other, most severely wounded, were all that remained alive.

† Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. ‡ Idem.

Joseph Hoit; myself, and four others, were wounded; one of them died last night: the rest of us likely to recover. Five of the enemy are no more; several others wounded; the prisoners are sent to West Point.

I am with respect & esteem,
Dear Sir, Your most Obed't Serv't,
C. Brewster.*

Col. Lamb.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

CHAPTER XXII.

Lamb on Furlough.—Confined all Winter with the Gout.—Not in Camp when the Newburgh Letters were produced.—Denounced the Author. —Order of the Cincinnati.—Opposed by Many.—Attacked by Judge Burke.—Lamb a Member.—City Evacuated.—Return of the Exiles. Lamb elected to the Assembly.—Chairman of the Committee on Commerce.—Adverse to the Restoration of the Royalists.—Votes against them.—Chairman of Committee on regulation of Trade, and the Militia.—Favors the establishment of a Bank.—The emission of Bills of Credit.—The Bill for the Disfranchising of the Tories.—Appointed Collector of the Customs of New York, and withdraws from the Legislature.—Tories favored by Schuyler, and Hamilton, gain Ground.—British.—French Parties.—Death of Anthony Lamb.—His Character.—La Fayette embarks from New York.—French Officers and Citizens insulted.—Complaint of the French Consul.—Action of the Legislature on motion of Col. Burr.—Weakness of the Confederacy.—Qualified Grant of the Imposts to Congress.—Deemed insufficient.—Convocation at Anapolis.—Call of the Convention.—Gov. Clinton refuses a special Call of the Legislature, at the request of Congress.

Symptoms of his old complaint, compelled Col. Lamb to leave the cantonment, and join his family at Southington, where a severe fit of the gout set in, which held him prisoner until the opening of the spring.* During his absence from camp, the incendiary letters, which have given unenviable renown to an individual, even then celebrated for talents of a peculiar character, had well nigh set the country in a flame; protracted the conclusion of peace; and forever sullied the fame of that army, whose unexampled patience, and fortitude, had established their claim to the applause of the world, and the gratitude of their country.† It needed all the superhuman prudence of Washington, and the exertion of the unbounded influence which his virtues, and talents had acquired, to quench the flame which the modern Erostratus had enkindled; and in none of the miraculous events of the war, had the firmness, and sagacity of the Commander-in-Chief, achieved a greater triumph than in crushing the hydra, that threatened in an evil hour, to destroy the fruits of all his former labors.*

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Marshall.

The tact and caution of the General, frustrated the unhallowed combination; the disaffection so suddenly inflamed, disappeared at once; the disappointed conspirators shrunk from their traitorous designs, and tranquility was restored.†

No man of the army, more cordially partook of the indignant feelings excited by the occasion; nor rallied round the Commander-in-Chief with more determined zeal for his support, than Col. Lamb.‡ He had ever held the talents, and devotion of Washington, in the highest veneration; and if at any time he doubted, respecting some movements of the army, he never questioned the motives of the Commander, although he may have dissented from the opinions of his advisers.§

The time was fast approaching when the officers of the army were to separate, and return to their several avocations in civil life. To preserve their recollections of each other, and of the many hardships and dangers which they had shared together, as well as to commemorate the kind feelings and fellowship with our allies, which had been engendered by these associations, the society of Cincinnati was formed. The design was first openly suggested by Gen. Knox, and was concurred in by most of the officers of the army.|| But some features in the constitution, particu-

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* Marshall.

† Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

|| The merit of this design may be shared, if not wholly claimed, for the brave and talented aid of Gen. Knox, as will appear from the following extract from the valuable and interesting memoir of that gentleman, by the Hon. Josiah Quincy.

" Major Shaw took an active and efficient part in the formation of the society of the Cincinnati. He was chosen secretary of the committee of larly the right of primogeniture in succession, gave alarm to the more rigid of the Whigs, among whom was Judge Ædanus Burke, of South Carolina, who attacked it with great vehemence, as an incipient order of nobility,* and an attempt to establish the pretensions of the military to rank above the mass of citizens. Although no man was more inflexibly republican in his principles than Col. Lamb, he could not see in the establishment of that institution the dangers ascribed to it by its opposers. The tinsel of distinction, the pomp of ribbands and orders, had no allurements for him; but he cherished with devotion the many associations of his military life; and viewing the symbols as the shibboleth of patriotism, he readily consented to become a member. History has proved how groundless were the fears excited on the occasion; and the aspirant for favor from the government in modern times, if of the Cincinnati, will lock his ribband and medal in his cabinet, rather than produce them as the foundation of preferment, civil or military. That society answered for a while the purposes for which it was intended; and the legitimate possessors of the badges, even at this day, are justly proud of the evidences of the endurance and patriotism of their progenitors.

The time had arrived when the British were to evacuate the country,† and Col. Lamb, after an exile of eight years, returned, on the 25th Nov., to his native city, leaving his family at their residence in Connecticut. It was not long after the reoccupation, before the evils anticipated in Col. Malcom's letter of July, 1778, began to be felt. Those who had remained acquiescent under the British, and who had not by expatriation forfeited their estates, still kept possession of their stations, and claimed protection of the American authorities.‡ As this was granted, it emboldened

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officers of the army who formed it, and according to information derived from the late Col. Timothy Pickering, the original draft of its constitution was from his pen."

* Histories of the time. † Loudon. Holt. ‡ Idem.

many, who had been attainted, to return; and applications were made to compound for estates under sequestration, which had not been sold by the Commissioners of Forfeitures. It need not be said, that Col. Lamb was among the most adverse to the reinstatement of the Tory families; and in this he was joined by most of his cotemporaries of 1766. This was the first agitation which divided the state and drew the lines of party; which, however they may have since diverged, were for a long period afterwards distinguishable. The first election after the peace was decisive of the ascendency of the uncompromising Whigs.* John Lamb, Marinus Willett, Henry Rutgers, Isaac Sears, John Stagg, William Malcom, Robert Harpur, Peter P. Van Zandt, and Hugh Hughes, were chosen members of the Assembly.† Most of these had been active "Sons of Liberty," and all sound, undeviating whig partizans. On the opening of the session, a committee of five was appointed to report an answer to the Governor's speech, and John Lansing, Jr., and John Lamb, were two of that committee. The authorship of the reply may be safely attributed to one of these, but to which of the two can not now be determined.‡ Col. Lamb was also upon several other committees of importance, and chairman of those on the regulations of trade and the militia. He was a member of the joint committee of both Houses to consider the conflicting relations between this state and Vermont,§ and favored the resolutions intended to quicken the tardy action of Congress, and to coerce that body into measures to quell the dangerous insurrection then existing, by a final settlement of the question. At this session, Robert R. Livingston brought forward a proposition to charter a bank;|| it was referred to a committee, of which Isaac Sears was chairman, who reported a bill for that purpose,¶ which was sustained by Col. Lamb. This bill failed, but a banking association was formed in New York, of which

* Appendix F. † Loudon's paper and Journals of Assembly. ‡ Idem.
§ Idem. || Journals of Assembly. ¶ Idem.

Alexander McDougall, then a member of the Senate, was the first president.* A bill was also brought in, to authorize a new emission of bills of credit, to be issued on loan. Although this act was identical in purpose with the one proposed by the Assembly of 1769, which was so vehemently denounced, it did not meet with the same reprobation from those who had taken the most active part in the proceedings of that period; for Col. Lamb† and his coadjutors supported it in the House, and McDougall, who had suffered so many months imprisonment for resistance to the project of Gov. Colden, did not hesitate to support the same scheme,‡ when emanating from a different functionary. The circumstances of the case were changed; and the power and patronage, denounced as dangerous in the hands of a royal governor, were safe, and even beneficent, under the control of a republican chief magistrate. On one point, however, Col. Lamb was intractable; and to the prayers of many, who had adhered to the enemy during the war, for permission to return, he was inflexibly opposed.§ At this session, a bill was passed by the Assembly, 1st May, 1784, by a vote of 32 to 9, " delaring certain description of persons without the protection of the laws of this state;"|| having for its object the continued disfranchisment of all such as had adhered to the British government during the war. This bill was amended in the Senate; the title of the act was altered to " An act to preserve the freedom and independence of this state, and for other purposes therein mentioned;"¶ and a more stringent clause inserted against the disfranchised individuals. Against this, Gen's Schuyler and McDougall and William Floyd recorded their votes;** but a majority of the Senate sustaining it, it passed by ten to six. Col. Lamb was not in the Legislature at the time of the final passage of this law. He had received the appointment from the Council, of collector of the customs for the port of New

* Loudon's paper.

† Journals of Assembly.

‡ Idem.

§ Idem.

|| Idem.

¶ Idem.

** Idem.

York,* and had vacated his seat to assume the duties of his new station. Had he been there, he would, undoubtedly, have given it his support.†

Notwithstanding the decisive action of the Legislature for the exclusion of the loyalists, the popular feeling against their restoration, was gradually relaxing. Many of the soundest of the whig party, with General Schuyler at the head, were disposed to remove their disqualifications; and Col. Hamilton warmly espousing their cause, exerted the influence of his great talents and eloquence in their behalf.‡ The opposition imagined that this measure savored of an undue subservience to British influences; and the exultation of the refugees, as their prospects of restoration brightened, tended much to strengthen the suspicion. The natural consequences of such belief, drew the other party to the side of France. And at that early period, parties assumed a position, which subsequent events more strongly defined; and which for many years, was the pivot upon which the most important changes of our political history have turned.§

General Lamb, on his return to the city, had collected the remnant of his property; and from the avails of which, and with the certificates issued by the government for depreciation of pay and for services, he purchased largely of the public lands; which had lapsed to the state by the attainder of their former owners. The first purchases proved fortunate, and they were disposed of at a great advance. Others equally successful were embarked in; and the revenue derived from these speculations, together with the emoluments of his office, enabled him to gratify his hospitality and benevolence.‖

His house was always open to the soldier of the revolution; whatever had been the sphere in which he had served; and all his old companions were welcomed with fraternal kindness. He suffered now, a severe deprivation, in the loss of his father, who had twice been broken up in his business, during the war. Once when driven from the city on the approach of the British in 1776; and again at New Haven three years afterwards, at the second incursion of Tryon into Connecticut. This venerable old man, whose virtues had endeared him to all his acquaintance, died at the age of eighty-one. He had the gratification of witnessing the complete success of the revolution, which he had ardently sustained in every stage of its existence.*

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* Minutes of the Council of Appointment. † Appendix F.

‡ Papers of the day. § Idem. ‖ Family history.

The Marquis de La Fayette, who had twice crossed the ocean to assist us in war, again visited us. Whether his object was to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two nations by the establishment of commercial relations, or once more to behold his great prototype, is not known; but during his stay, he was instrumental in perfecting some negociations profitable to the American trade.† This, and the general facilities afforded by France to commercial intercourse, contrasting with the restrictive policy of Great Britain, strengthened the growing attachment of the radical whigs to our former allies. General Lamb, although he had not at first viewed the employment of the French land forces with a favorable eye, became reconciled to the measure, as the efficiency of the alliance disclosed itself; and in the course of active service, he had imbibed a warm attachment to many of the officers of that nation. For La Fayette particularly, he always cherished a sincere friendship, and when that distinguished patriot, was preparing to reëmbark from the Battery, on his return, on the 23d December, he, with Governor Clinton, and other military officers, escorted him to the barge, which was to convey him to the ship.‡

The good feelings exhibited towards our former allies, gave much dissatisfaction to the other party; and it was not long before it was openly manifested.§ A French packet was lying off the Battery, and several gentlemen of the city had been visitors on board. As they were returning, escorted by some French officers, in a barge belonging to the vessel, a boat, manned from the British ships in the stream, on the 18th April, 1785, purposely ran into her, and a skirmish ensued.* Some tories on the wharf joined in the affray, and pelted the French party with stones, but the whigs rallied, and took them into custody.† This outrage was complained of by St. John, the French Consul, to the Legislature, at that time in session;‡ and on the motion of Colonel Burr, of the 20th, then a member, the assembly resolved, " That it was a daring and premeditated insult, to the laws and government, of this state;" offering a reward for the arrest, and punishment of the offenders: and ordering the speedy trial of those already in custody; in which the senate concurred.§

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* Papers of the day. Family history.

† Papers of the day. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

The weakness of the old confederation, and its insufficiency for the purposes of government, were becoming more and more apparent. In 1781, New York had granted to Congress, the impost duties collected within her borders subject to the control and regulation of the confederacy.|| But at the peace, the Legisluture repealed the law; established custom houses, and took the collection into the hands of the state.¶ Repeated attempts were made to restore this power to Congress, which were resisted by the Legislature.** But in 1786, the revenues, excepting the salaries of the collecting officers, not to exceed eight per cent, were granted; reserving to the state, the appointment and control of the officers collecting; and also providing for the receipt of the bills of credit of this state, in payment of the duties.†† This measure was unsatisfactory to Congress, and the party in favor of a more unlimited grant, were strenuous for an unlimited grant, and the federal regulation of commerce; which was as strenuously opposed on the other hand.‡‡ As a mean of affecting the object, Congress passed a resolve, recommending a meeting of delegates from the different states, at Anapolis, in September; and this assembly produced the call of the Convention at Philadelphia in May following, in order to revise the articles of the Confederation.

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* Papers of the day. † Idem. ‡ Journals of Assembly.
§ Journals of Assembly. || Idem. ¶ Idem **Idem.
†† Idem. ‡‡ Journals of Congress.

To ensure the adoption of these measures by New York, and to carry into effect the restoration of the loyalists, it was important to their advocates, that the public opinion in relation to the disputed points, should undergo a change. And the great talents and influence of Colonel Hamilton were exerted to carry this into effect. The operation of the Bank established under his auspices, was no slight auxiliary in enabling him to carry his points; and by the powerful means within his control, aided by his writings and speeches, he produced the result which his friends desired.* A revolution in the city was brought about; and notwithstanding the strongest men of the opposite party were put in nomination against it, the ticket, with Hamilton at the head, was elected by a considerable majority.†

On the meeting of the Legislature, Richard Varrick was chosen speaker of the Assembly.‡ The Governor in his address to the House, explained his reasons for not convening them before the time of their stated meeting, in the same terms which he had before used in his answer to the requisition of Congress.

On the 20th January, 1787, Messrs. Jones, Hamilton and Gordon, were appointed a committee to report an answer to the Governor's speech. Mr. Hamilton, from that body, reported to the committee of the whole house, the answer agreed upon.§ The speaker, Mr. Varrick, then moved an amendment to the first clause in the following words: After the words "beg leave," insert "to express our approbation of your Excellency's conduct, in not convening the Legislature at an earlier period."|| Colonel Malcom moved an additional amendment, confirmatory of the legislative approbation of the Governor's course.¶ Action of course, was first

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* Phocion's Essays.

† Loudon's papers.

‡ Journals of Assembly.

§ Idem.

|| Idem.

¶ Idem.

had on the last amendment, which was supported by the speaker, but rejected. The original motion, (the amendment proposed by the speaker,) was put and carried. Colonels Varrick and Malcom voting for it; and Messrs. C. Livington, Hamilton, Bayard, Denning, Brooks, Gordon, J. Livingston, Sickles and Dongan, voting in the negative.*

One of the first steps of Colonel Hamilton in the House, was to procure the repeal of the act disfranchising the adherents of the crown, during the war, and to secure their admission to the full rights of citizens at future elections.† A measure preliminary to others in contemplation; as the increase of votes to his party by the removal of existing disqualifications, would ensure a future preponderance of his influence. If public opinion had undergone a change in many respects; in none, had a more extensive alteration taken place, than in regard to the continued exclusion of the tories. For among other powerful and influential members of the whig party, Gen. Malcom, who had so strongly deprecated the revival of aristocratic influences, and the restoration of the Royalists, in his letter of July 1778, now became a strenuous advocate for their admission, and voted with Hamilton, in every stage of the act of repeal. It passed in the House on the last of January, and the influence of Gen. Schuyler carried it through the Senate, on the 3d February, a few days afterwards.‡ Not the same success attended the effort to surrender the control of the imposts to Congress; for the attempt in the House, under the same auspices that had passed the other bill, failed.§ The next important step, was to obtain the assent of the Legislature to the appointment of delegates to the General Convention.‖ This was carried, and on the 6th March, they were elected, two of whom, Robert Yates, and John Lansing, Jr., well known to be adverse to the political views of Hamilton, were chosen, and that gentleman himself, was elected as the third.¶

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* Journals of Assembly. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Journals Senate.

‖ Journals of Assembly. ¶ Idem.

There was in this Legislature, a decided majority in favor of preserving the rights of the states in full sovereignty, and for sustaining the Governor, and his party;* though not so large as Mr. Hammond supposes, when he considers the vote approving the refusal to convene the Legislature, at the desire of Congress, a test vote: for on that vote, Richard Varrick, then, and ever afterwards the friend, personal, and political, of Hamilton, was with the majority.† It is most likely that the vote of the preceding session, on expunging from the act, granting the imposts to Congress, the clause giving the control, and removal of the collecting officers to that body, which stood in the Senate, 11 to 5, and in the House, 21 to 32, was the truer test.‡ It is more than probable that the majority might have defeated Hamilton's election as a delegate; but the call of the convention being "for the sole, and express purpose of revising the articles of the confederation," the dominant party thought they could safely trust the interests of the state, to delegates, the majority of whom were for the preservation of its sovereign powers;§ but they knew not the boldness, and energy of the man, whom they had joined to the other delegates, and little appreciated the extraordinary powers of a mind, which was to convince by argument, and overbear by eloquence, so large a proportion of the people, and in the result, compel them to justify the exercise of powers usurped from them, for their especial benefit.||

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* Journals of Assembly. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Influence of the Sons of Liberty declines.—McDougall secedes.—Dies.—Schuyler, and Hamilton in the ascendant.--Sears on a Voyage to China.—Dies at Canton.—Of the old agitators, Lamb, Hughes, and Willett, of the States Rights Party.—Convention assembles in Philadelphia.—Debates.—Propositions which transcend the Powers of the New York Delegation submitted.—Favored by Hamilton.—Opposed by Yates, and Lansing. — They secede from the Convention. — Constitution adopted.—General Dissatisfaction.—Appeased by the Efforts of Hamilton, Jay, and Madison.—Organization of the Opponents of Ratification, without Preliminary Amendments.—Lamb Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence.—Anti-Adoptionists assume the Name of Federal Republicans.—Letters of Patrick Henry.—Richard Henry Lee.—Ædanus Burke. — Rawlins Lowndes.— Samuel Chase.— Joshua Atherton.—George Clinton.—Reorganization of the Non-Adoptionists as Federal Republicans.—Propose George Clinton as the Candidate of the Party for Vice President, with Washington.—Amendments adopted, and acquiescence of the State Rights Party.

The old association of the " Sons of Liberty" had lost its organized power. McDougall had in 1784, and 1785, voted with Schuyler, and probably at the time of his death, June, 1786, adherred to the Hamilton party. Sears was absent on a voyage to China, where he died, on the 28th October, in the same year. Of the active revolutionary agitators, but few remained; of these, Lamb, Hughes, Willett, and others, continued firm to the Clinton party, and strenuous advocates for the integrity of state power;* but the time was passed when they could influence the popular suffrage. They had been beaten in the April election, of 1787, and the operation of the act repealing the disqualifications of the Loyalists, had increased the power of their opponents, and placed them in a hopeless minority in the city.†

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* Loudon's papers. † Idem.

The Convention assembled at Philadelphia, and carried on its deliberations with closed doors.[*] This act was enough to excite alarm in the minds of the State Rights men; but when it became known that two of the delegates from New York had seceded from the Convention,[†] because they could take no farther part in the discussions without exceeding the authority delegated to them; and that the remaining one, regardless of the limited powers entrusted to him, was disposed to exceed the more daring, in the formation of the new government, the alarm was increased.[‡] The people of New York were apprised of the points in discussion, by their seceding delegates; and also by the letter of Luther Martin,[§] to the Legislature of Maryland, and a large majority were fully prepared to oppose the form of government thus forced upon them.

On the adoption of the Constitution, Col. Hamilton assumed the responsibility of signing it in behalf of New York;[||] although his colleagues had considered themselves driven to secession, by the extraordinary powers assumed by the Convention; and on its promulgation to the people, the new form of government so far transcended in power the former con federacy, and made such encroachments on the rights of the states, that it created the greatest ferment.[¶] From South Carolina to New Hampshire, a large proportion of the people were resolved upon opposing its adoption;[**] denouncing it as anti-federal in its principles; as a perfect consolidation of power in the general government, and a total destruction of the state sovereignties.[††] They proclaimed themselves as the exponents of the true federative principles, and denounced the defenders of the acts of the Convention, as dangerously monarchial in their opinions, and designs.

On the other hand, the friends of the new system, maintained that it was strictly a federal government; that they were, in fact, the true Federal party, and so successful were the labors of Hamilton, assisted by Jay, and Madison;* and so effective were the arguments of those able writers, that they demonstrated the existence of the true federative principles in the Constitution, and the claim of its friends to be denominated the Federal party.† The opposition thus deprived of the original name, under which they had sought to rally, in many of the states, and in some parts of this state,‡ adopted the party designation applied to them by their opponents, and consented to style themselves Anti-Federalists.§ In the southern part of the state, however, and particularly in the city, they did not so readily abandon their claim to Federalism; and the Clinton party, opposed to the restoration of the Royalists, and zealous advocates of State Rights, organized themselves for opposition to the Constitution, under the name of Federal Republicans.‖

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[*] Secrect debates of the Convention. [†] Idem. [‡] Idem. [§] Idem.
[||] Constitution. [¶] Papers of the day. [**] Idem.
[††] Idem and Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

A society under that designation was formed, consisting of the old leaders of that party, of which Gen. Lamb was the Chairman, and Charles Tillinghast, his son-in-law, was Secretary, and a correspondence was opened with the leading men of several states of the Union, to concert measures to prevent the adoption of the Constitution.§ Of these, were Judge Burke, and Rawlins Lowndes, of South Carolina; Timothy Bloodworth, of North Carolina;¶ Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, and William Grayson, of Virginia;** Samuel Chase, of Maryland;†† and Joshua Atherton, of New Hampshire.‡‡ All these entered very zealously into the scheme, and concurred in representing the great body of the people of their respective states, as being determinedly hostile to the adoption of the Constitution. The letters of some of these gentlemen are as follows :

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* The Federalist. † Idem.

‡ Papers at Albany and in the middle district.

§ Lamb papers, N. Y His. Soc. ‖ Idem. ¶ Idem. ** Idem. †† Idem. ‡‡ Idem.

Richmond, June 9, 1788.

Sir :

I was honored by the rec't of your favor by the hands of Col. Oswald, accompanying three pamphlets, for which, and for the communication resulting from a view of the whole subject matter, I give you, sir, my sincere thanks. It is matter of great consolation, to find that the sentiments of a vast majority of Virginians, are in unison with those of our northern friends. I am satisfied four-fifths of our inhabitants are opposed to the new scheme of government. Indeed, in the part of this country, lying south of James River, I am confident, nine-tenths are opposed to it. And yet, strange as it may seem, the numbers in convention appear equal on both sides: so that the majority, which way soever it goes, will be small. The friends and seekers of power, have, with their usual subtility, wriggled themselves into the choice of the people, by assuming shapes as various as the faces of the men they address on such occasions.

If they shall carry their point, and preclude previous amendments, which we have ready to offer, it will become highly necessary to form the society you mention. Indeed it appears the only chance for securing a remnant of those invaluable rights which are yielded by the new plan. Col. George Mason has agreed to act as chairman of our republican society. His character I need not describe. He is every way fit; and we have concluded to send you by Col. Oswald a copy of the Bill of Rights, and of the particular amendments we intend to propose in our convention. The fate of them is altogether uncertain, but of that, you will be informed. To assimilate our views on this great subject, is of the last moment; and our opponents expect much from our dissension: as we see the danger, I think it is easily avoided.

I can assure you, that North Carolina is more decidedly opposed to the new government than Virginia. The people there seem rife for hazarding all, before they submit. Perhaps the organization of our system, may be so contrived as to include lesser associations dispersed throughout the State. This will remedy in some degree, the inconvenience arising from our dispersed situation. Col. Oswald's short stay here, prevents my saying as much on the subject as I could otherwise have done. And after assuring you of my ardent wishes for the happiness of our common country, and the best interests of humanity, I beg leave to subscribe myself with great respect and regard,

Sir, your ob't h'ble serv.,

P. HENRY.*

To General JOHN LAMB.

CHARLESTON, 21st June, 1788.

Sir:

I have been honored with your favors of the 19th May last, received a few days ago, enclosing several papers relative to the new Constitution: also two packets, the one for Mr. Justice Burke, which I have delivered with mine own hands: the other for General Sumpter, which I have conveyed by a safe opportunity, as he resides at a considerable distance from Charleston.

You will have known, sir, before this time, that our Convention have finally ratified and confirmed the new Federal Constitution. It was done on the 24th May last, contenting itself with a few recommendatory amendments.

Had your plan been proposed in time, I doubt not it might have produced very good effect in this country. A strong systematic opposition, wherein the opinions and sentiments of the different States were concentrated, and directed to the same specific objects, would have had a weight, which the advocates for the Constitution must have submitted to; and have removed the force of an objection, strongly insisted upon, arising from the diversity and dissimilarity of the several amendments contended for.

I had not the honor to be of our Convention. An open and explicit avowal of my sentiments in the Assembly, when the subject was agitated there, which were irreconcilable to the Constitution, as well in mode as substance, did not meet with the concurrence and approbation of my constitutents in Charleston, and I was, therefore, rejected in their choice of delegates for the Convention.

I am, with great Respect and Regard,
Sir,
Your Most Obed't. hum'l Serv't,
RAW'S LOWNDES.†

JOHN LAMB, ESQ.,
Chairman Com'ee., New York.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

CHANTILLY IN VIRGINIA, June 27, 1788.

Sir :

It is but this day I received the letter that you did me the honor to write to me on the 18th of May last. Repeated experience having shown me that I could not be at Richmond and be in health, prevented me from attempting to be a member of our State Convention; but I have omitted no occasion of enforcing, to the utmost of my power, the propriety of so stating amendments as to secure their adoption, as you will see by the letter I wrote to the president of our Convention, a copy of which I have the honor to enclose to you. I lament that your letter did not reach me sooner, because I think your plan of correspondence would have produced salutary consequences; as it seems to have been the idea of our Assembly when they sent the proposed plan to a convention. Every attempt has failed, either to get previous amendments or effectually to secure the obtaining them hereafter. Yet you will see, sir, that the ratifying majority feel the propriety of amendments; altho', in my judgment, the mode they have pursued, for obtaining them, is neither wise or manly. But if nothing better can be obtained in the states that have not yet ratified, even this mode of expressing the sense of the approving states may operate to the obtaining amendments hereafter, as well as to prevent, in the exercise of power, such abuses as would, in all probability, take place.

It will be considered, I believe, as a most extraordinary epoch in the history of mankind, that in a few years there should be so essential a change in the minds of men. 'Tis really astonishing that the same people, who have just emerged from a long and cruel war in defence of liberty, should now agree to fix an elective despotism upon themselves and their posterity ! It is true, indeed, for the honor of human nature, that there has not been a general acquiescence. In respectable states, there have been formidable minorities. In this, a majority of ten only, out of near two hundred members, neither demonstrates that a majority of the people approve the plan; nor does it augur well for the prosperity of the new government, unless the wisdom and goodness, of those who first act under this system, shall lead them to take effectual measures for introducing the requisite amendments. And this I hope, for the honor and safety of the U. States, will be obtained by the mediation of wise and benevolent men.

Accept my thanks, sir, for the enclosures in your letter, which I shall read with great pleasure.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your most obedient and very humble servant,
RICHARD HENRY LEE.[*]

GEN. JOHN LAMB,
New York.

BALTIMORE, 13th June, 1788.

Dear Sir:

I returned from attending our General Court yesterday afternoon, and your letter, with one from the *Federal Republicans*, and several enclosures, were delivered only a few minutes ago. I will have the publications reprinted. I was always averse from the adoption of the proposed Constitution, unless certain amendments, to declare and secure the great and essential rights of the people, could be previously obtained; because I thought, if they could not be procured before the ratification, they, very probably, could not be obtained afterwards; and the conduct of the advocates of the government confirm my opinion. I am convinced that the principal characters who support the government, will not agree to any amendments. A declaration of rights alone will be of no essential service. Some of the powers must be abridged, or public liberty will be endangered, and, in time, destroyed.

I have no hopes that any attempts will be made to obtain previous alterations, and I fear any attempt, after ratification, will be without effect. I consider the Constitution as radically defective in this essential; the bulk of the people can have nothing to say to it. The government is *not* a government of the people. It is *not* a government of representation. The people do *not* choose the House of Representatives. A right of election is declared, but it can not be exercised. It is a useless, nugatory right. By no mode of choice, by the people at large, or in districts, can they choose representatives. The right is immediate and given to all the people, but it is impracticable to be exercised by them.

I believe a very great majority of the people of this state are in favor of amendments, but they are depressed and inactive. They have lost all their former spirit and seem ready to submit to any master. Governor Smallwood, Mr. Mercer, Mr. J. T. Chase, our Attorney-General, and a few more, are decided against the government. An attempt will be made to elect none but *Federalists,* as they falsely call themselves, to our house of delegates. A violent opposition will be made to them in this town; and is already begun on the avowed principle. I am called on for this.

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[*] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

I beg to be remembered to all the Federal Republicans with you. I will instantly communicate to Governor Smallwood.

I remain, dear sir,
With respect and esteem,
Your obed't serv't,
SAM. CHASE.*

Gen. JOHN LAMB,
New York.

RICHMOND, June 9th, 1788.

Dear Sir :

I received your letter by Col. Oswald, and the same evening, laid it before the Committee of Opposition ; they had directed their Chairman to answer it by Col. Oswald. Some of our proposed amendments are finished in the Committee; the others will be forwarded as soon as agreed on.

I am sorry to observe to you, that our affairs in the Convention, are suspended by a hair; I really cannot tell you on which side the scale will turn; the difference, I am satisfied on the main question, will be exceedingly small indeed. The Governor has declared in favor of the Constitution, without amendments before adoption. This, however, has not injured us; neither has the news of the ratification of South Carolina. The opposition upon the whole, is firm and united; there are seven or eight dubious characters, whose opinions are not known, and on whose decisions, the fate of this important question will ultimately depend : should all of them be on the other side, it will make a majority of four or five against us.

You will be pleased to consider this, in the light of a private letter; at all events, so far as to prevent my being quoted in the public newspapers. I will do myself the pleasure of giving you the earliest notice of the final decision of this Assembly. Should we be strong enough to command the question, I think it will be highly expedient for the Convention to open a correspondence with yours; these however, are my sentiments; not knowing how others will think on the occasion.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

I remain with great respect,
Your Most Obed't Serv't,
Will'm Grayson.*

To the Hon'ble
Brig.-Gen'l Lamb,
New York.

Amherst, June 11, 1788.

Gentlemen :

I have the honor to recognize the reception of your very great favor, which came to hand yesterday. Long anxiously desirous of the communication proposed, I shall leave nothing unattempted in my power, to effect a unanimity of sentiment with respect to amendments. I cannot persuade myself however, that the method adopted by the Convention of Massachusetts, is by any means eligible : to ratify, and then propose amendments, is to surrender our all, and then to ask our new masters, if they will be so gracious as to return to us some, or any part of our most important rights and privileges. Can this be the part of wisdom or good policy? I have the honor, Gentlemen, perfectly to coincide with you in sentiment, that the amendments should be procured, previous to the adoption of the new system, and all local advantages, rejected as unworthy the attention of those, who are contending for the general liberty.

There has hitherto been a fair majority in the Convention of New Hampshire, as far as their sentiments could be collected (for the decisive question has not been put) against ratifying the proposed Constitution in its present form; this the candid consolidarians confess; but I need not inform you, how many arts are made use of to increase their party. The presses are in a great measure, secured to *their* side; inevitable ruin is held up, on non-compliance; while the new system is fraught with every species of happiness. The opponents are enemies to their country, and they often make them say what they never thought.

In the Exeter Advertiser, (New Hampshire), they had the disingenuity to say, that "Mr. Atherton, seemed to give up the idea of all cases between citizens of different states, originating in the federal courts, &c., &c." Nothing can be the more reverse of truth than this assertion. Their views are obvious; but I will not trouble you with particulars. I flatter myself some future publications will brush off the mask of falsehood. Permit me to hope you will lead the way, and delineate the method of a correspondence between the states, who have not yet resigned their lives, liberties, and properties, into the hands of this new and unlimited sovereignty. Your central situation, and your great importance as a state, gives us a right to expect it of you: While nothing shall be wanting here, to second such a desirable event; nor indeed shall any part of your public spirited, and benevolent proposals, want the attention they so highly merit.

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*Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

No amendments being yet fixed on here, or even attempted, that subject must be left for future consideration. Could our convention receive your resolution not to adopt without the necessary amendments, before they have proceeded too far, together with your amendments; I have not the least doubt but a great majority would immediately close with your views and wishes. The Convention of this state, sits next Wednesday at Concord, by adjournment: on the conclusion of which session, I will cause to be transmitted to the Anti-Federal Committee of the county of Albany, the result of our deliberations, who will be good enough to forward them to you. The subject of amendments shall not be forgot.

June 14th.—I yesterday received the supplement to the Albany Journal, of the tenth instant, by which it appears you will have a majority of two to one, at least, against adoption. I congratulate you on so fortunate an event, and have the highest confidence that the power and opportunity, thus put into your hands to save our devoted country from impending ruin, will be exercised with firmness, integrity, and wisdom.

I am, Gentlemen, with great esteem and respect,
Your most humble & most ob't serv't,
Joshua Atherton.*

John Lamb, Esq.,
Chairman of the Federal Republican Committee.

The best arguments against the adoption of the Constitution, were put forward by this association, to induce an acquiescence with their views.† But public opinion was forestalled. The overwhelming efforts of its friends, and the masterly productions which emanated from the pens of the triumviri, who stood forth as the champions of adoption, compelled its adversaries to change their ground.* The Conventions of several states had approved the Constitution; South Carolina among the first;† and upon the meeting of that of Virginia, the parties were found so nearly balanced, that the idea of rejection was abandoned, and the views of the opposition were confined to acceptance, with preliminary amendments, and a declaratory bill of rights.‡

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Papers of the day.

At the election for members of the Legislature in the city of New York, for 1787, the Hamilton ticket was chosen, by a very large majority.§ The prospect of this had become so evident, that Col. Burr, whose name had been put forth as one of the candidates of the opposition, (and also for delegate to the Convention, should the Legislature decide upon calling one), withdrew his name from the canvass.|| A very close vote determined the question of the Convention;¶ and at the election for delegates, the array of the Clinton party were put in nomination. Gov. Clinton headed the ticket, and among others, John Lamb, Marinus Willet, and Melancthon Smith, were nominated with him.** But as the election approached, the certainty of defeat become so apparent, that the friends of Gov. Clinton, in Ulster, placed him in nomination from that county, while to secure the able services of Mr. Smith, he was nominated, and elected in Dutchess.††

As was anticipated, a most triumphant majority carried Hamilton, and his powerful, and talented colleagues, John Jay and others, as representatives from this city;‡‡ still, upon the assembling of the Convention at Poughkeepsie, the Anti-Federalists, for they had been compelled to acknowledge that name there, had a large majority;* and sanguine of support from New Hampshire, and Virginia, they commenced their deliberations. The following letter from Gov. Clinton, will exhibit, with what hopes, and expectations:

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* The Federalist. † Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc. ‡ Idem.

§ Loudon's paper. || Idem.

¶ Assembly journals

** Papers of the day. †† Idem. ‡‡ Idem.

POUGHKEEPSIE, 21 June, 1788.

Dear Sir:

The communications from Virginia, which you transmitted by Capt. Tillinghast, have been communicated to a Committee of the gentlemen opposed to the adoption of the new Constitution, without previous amendments; who have requested me to present their thanks to you for your unwearied attention to our common cause, for which, you will also be pleased to accept of mine. It gives me and them sensible pleasure to learn, that the friends to the liberties of our country to the southward, are equally anxious, with those who are not ashamed of that unfashionable name here.

The friends to the rights of mankind, outnumber the advocates of despotism, nearly two to one. Yesterday, the debates began on the third clause, respecting representation. The most that has been said by the new government men, has been a second edition of Publius, well delivered. One of the New York Delegates, has in substance, tho' not explicitly, thrown off the mask. His arguments, tending to show the necessity of a consolidated, continental, to the exclusion of any state government. This, however, he has recalled today, finding it would do their cause injury. The republican members of the Convention have appointed a special Committee of Correspondence, with the neighboring Conventions, &c., of which the Honorable Judge Yates, is Chairman.

You will receive enclosed, and left open for your perusal, a letter from the Committee, to Col. Mason, Chairman of the Virginia Committee, which is entrusted to your forwarding, with whatever communications you, and our other friends in New York, may think proper to make to that quarter, by such safe, and expeditious mode of conveyance, as you may think expedient. The letter to Col. Mason, you will observe, is put under cover to Mr. George Fleming, merchant in Richmond, as advised in Mr. Mason's letter.

The Committee have desired me to offer you their thanks, for your care, and attention, in forwarding the information from Virginia, and request a continuance of the favor, when any thing new, and important reaches you.

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* Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

With best respects to Mrs. Lamb, and your good family,
I am, Dr Sir,
Your Most Obed't Servant,
Geo. Clinton.[*]

Hon'ble John Lamb,
New York.

The reliance of the opposition upon New Hampshire, proved fallacious; but the knowledge of the ratification by that state, reaching the Convention, it produced but little effect.[†] Equally groundless were their expectations from Virginia, and the failure of their hopes from that quarter, was more sensibly felt; still they were resolute in contending for preliminary amendments,[‡] as will appear by the following letter:

Poughkeepsie, 12th July, 1788.

D'r Sir:

The business of the convention is now wound up to a crisis. 3 different species of amendments were proposed yesterday by Mr. Lansing: they were the result of " a spirit of amity and mutual concession," even in the party that brought them forward. Some of the members were for making the ratification of certain amend'ts absolute conditions of adoption. However, several considerations induced the mode I am now going to describe.

The amendments are: 1, explanatory; 2, conditional; 3, recommendatory.

The first contain a bill of rights, and an explication of some important parts of the Constitution, which were either equivocal, or too latitudinal. For instance, the clause prohibiting the passing of expost facto laws, is thus explained, or rather restrained—provided that this clause shall not be so construed as to screen public defaulters. The conditional, prohibit the operation of the Constitution in this State as to direct taxation, without making a previous requisition. (Vide Mass. amend'ts.) As to the regulation of elections, unless in cases of neglect, inability, or refusal, &c., until a new general convention is called. The recommendatory are numerous and important. This proposal was altercated yesterday by Jay, the Chancellor, and Judge Morris; and defended by Smith, the Governor, and Lansing. The first insist, that Congress can never receive us into the Union in this manner. I have no doubt, however, but what they will; and then our Represent's in Congress, can be of service in calling another convention.

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[*] Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

[†] Idem, and Loudon's paper.

[‡] Debates in Convention, Loudon's paper.

I expect the convention will break up in a few days. The proposal I mentioned, is the ne plus ultra of anti concession. Many indeed think they had conceded too much. If the fed's had been friendly, instead of being inimical to the proposal, I have my doubts whether a majority of anti's would not have voted against it. But the opposition of their political adversaries has reconciled them.

I received your letter. I thank you for it. My compliments to the General and his family.

I am, with the greatest esteem,
Your most obed. serv't,
MAJ. CHAS. TILLINGHAST. DE WITT CLINTON.*

P. S. M. Smith made a very long and masterly speech in favor of the proposal this day: he was followed by Mr. Lansing. Mr. Hamilton spoke against it in strong terms. I have been informed that the quarrel between the anti's and fed's at Albany has not entirely subsided: that the latter persevere in firing 10 cannon, and that the country people are much enraged at it.

My best respects to Mr. Hughes. I will write again as soon as possible. I have no fear that the anti's will [not] keep together now. They have not long ago been in a situation that I will not mention until I see you. I have seen some extracts of letters, and other statements in some of the New York fed'l papers that are not true. To use an expression of Hume, a man of sense will lend a very academic faith to them, and others similar.

Melancthon Smith from the south, and the late Chancellor Lansing from the north, together with Gov. Clinton, were the champions of the majority, and debated the ground step by step, in opposition to the great orators of the opposite party; whose matchless efforts in argument, and persuasive influence over the members in private, began to gain many to their support.* Yet it appeared that they were without hope of carrying the desired vote; and a motion was made 16th July, by them, to adjourn the convention to the 2d September.† This was defeated by a very decisive majority, and action was forced upon the proposition of Mr. Smith, amended by Mr. Lansing, for preliminary amendments.‡

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* Tillinghast papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

At the debate on this motion, the overpowering eloquence of Col. Hamilton was exerted to its utmost pitch, and shook the most resolved of the majority.§ Even the mover of the propositions was convinced, notwithstanding the inflexibility which he had hitherto maintained; and in expressing his conviction, he withdrew his propositions.|| These were immediately renewed by Mr. Lansing, and the next day, the 23d, on the final question, Mr. Smith voted against the resolutions which he had himself offered.¶ Still unwilling to yield, Mr. Lansing, from the opposition, proposed to accept the Constitution on condition of future amendments.** This was altered at the suggestion of Samuel Jones, his quondam coadjutor, into an expression of "full confidence" that such amendments would be made,†† and the Constitution was adopted by a majority of three voices.‡‡

The extraordinary propositions put forth by the most ultra of the consolidationists, had excited the alarm and jealousy of the state-rights republicans; and although the constitution, as adopted, contained powers deemed dangerous, no American, at this day, can doubt the wisdom and patriotism of the majority of the convention of 1787; nor fail to congratulate himself that even the errors committed by them were of a salutary tendency. Many honestly believed the scheme of a federative republic to be visionary and hopeless. The perfect consolidationists approached as near to their plan of an energetic government as the nature of the case would admit of; and by grasping at more power than strictly belonged to a confederation, they aroused the apprehensions of the great body of the people, and arrayed against their system some of the most patriotic and talented men of the nation. It is fortunate that the constitution, as formed, contained more than was necessary for the establishment of a stable government: for it is easier to concede to the people than to induce them to yield a portion of their power. Had the state rights party succeeded, their system would, probably, have been found too feeble for the general prosperity and safety of the republic; to remedy this, by imparting more strength to the national arm, would not have been practicable; and intestine quarrels, and local jealousies, would have produced a dismemberment of the Union.

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* Loudon's paper and Greenleaf's paper. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Idem. || Idem. ¶ Idem. ** Idem. †† Idem. ‡‡ Idem.

The majority of the Convention and their friends, in the flush of victory, were compelled, by the formidable array against them, to pause, and to surrender a portion of their power; while all that was asked by the opposition was not granted. Mutual concessions became necessary, and the consequent compromises, resulted in the formation of the great desideratum sought for: an efficient and well balanced Constitution

As much was done towards achieving this great end, by the exorbitant claims of the consolidationists, as by the stern resistance of the leaders of the opposite party. Without New York, the confederacy would have been feeble and inefficient; and the adhesion of this state to the new government was of vital importance. This was effected by the decision of a single individual. But for the daring energy of that delegate, who assumed the responsibility of exercising powers denied by his more prudent colleagues, and which a vast majority of his constituents utterly repudiated, we might never have obtained the great blessing of a powerful, yet free government. And had it not been for the efforts of the great patriots of the Union, and the firmness of their determination to counterpoise the preponderance of the national power, a system might have been fastened upon us, which could not have been shaken off, but by a sanguinary revolution.

The triumph of the constitutionalists was complete. The opposition addressed a circular letter to the states, explanatory of the reasons which had influenced them to yield to the adoption;* and the Convention issued another,† recommending a general convocation to devise the requisite amendments, and engraft a bill of rights upon the new compact. To carry this scheme into effect, the association in the city and the vicinity, who had so strenously battled for previous amendments, again organized, still under the designation of "Federal Republicans."‡ And these are the proceedings of the meeting :

"The following gentlemen, viz :

Marinus Willett,
Melancthon Smith,
David Gelston,
John Lamb,
Ezekiel Robins,
Solomon Townsend,
Nathaniel Lawrence,
James M. Hughes,
Samuel Jones,
Charles Tillinghast,

Having met at Fraunce's Tavern, on Tuesday evening, Oct. 30, 1788, after some deliberation, determined to form themselves into a society for the purpose of procuring a general convention, agreeable to the circular letter of the late Convention of this state; and thereupon elected Col. Willett to be their chairman, and Charles Tillinghast secretary.

"On motion of Mr. Smith, and seconded by Gen. Lamb, it was determined that a committee of three be appointed to open a correspondence with certain persons in the several states, (as well as counties within this state,) for the purpose of explaining the reasons which induced the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, by the late Convention of this state, and requesting their assistance to procure the requisite amendments, by having a General Convention called immediately, or as soon as possible, after the organization of the new government.

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* Tillinghast papers, N. Y. His. Soc. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

"The committee appointed, were Melancthon Smith, Esq., Gen. Lamb, and Jas. M. Hughes, Esq., who are to draught the requisite letters, and report the same as early as possible.

"It was determined that a meeting of the society should be again held on Tuesday evening, Nov. 4, at six o'clock, and at the same place.

Chas. Tillinghast, *Sec'y.**

"At a meeting of the society, agreeable to adjournment, the following gentlemen attended at Fraunce's Tavern, Nov. 4, viz :

John Lamb, David Gelston,
Melancthon Smith, Chas. Tillinghast,
James M. Hughes.

"The chairman of the society being absent, Gen. Lamb was called to the chair for this meeting.

"The committee, who were appointed to draught letters to the several states, and counties within this state, produced draughts thereof, which having been read by paragraphs, and amended, are as follows, viz:

To the counties within this State:

New York, November 4, 1788.†

Gentlemen :

The circumstances and situation of things both before, and some time after our convention had met, warranted an universal opinion among all Federal Republicans, that it was proper to adopt the new constitution only on condition that those important alterations which were considered necessary to the protection of political and civil liberty, should be made: and this was founded not only on the defects of the Constitution, but on the anticipation that there would have been a majority in several of the State conventions of the same sentiments with our own; from whom we should have derived support. But in pursuing our opposition in this form, the sentiments and opinions of many in our Convention were changed; not, as we have reason to believe as to the principles of opposition, but as to the expediency of adopting under an alteration of circumstances, so that this State shall continue in the Union. At the same time, giving such constructions to some of its articles, and relying on the sentiments of a majority in the United States, with respect to an opinion of its defects, that the government would be restrained in the exercise of its most offensive and dangerous powers, until a new convention should have an opportunity of reconsidering and revising it, before it should have its full operation.

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† Tillinghast papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

† Idem.

This alteration of sentiment with respect to a conditional adoption, and the mode of adopting it in its present manner, it is to be presumed, was caused by the reception of it by nine States successively; by which the government was capable to be put in operation; and likewise [by] the immediate and subsequent adoption of it by Virginia, perhaps one of the most influential and important States in the Union. The confidence of those who were of these sentiments was excited, because many of the most important States, had acknowledged it by small majorities; and almost all, in such a way as was expressive of its defects: and hence they considered amendments as certain; subsequent as precedent.

Thus unsupported by any of the States in the prospect of a conditional adoption, and for these reasons, it became a political calculation with them, whether it was not most for the interests of this State, under all circumstances, to continue in the Union, and trust, for the reasons aforesaid, for amendments. Unhappily, this occasioned a diversity of opinion among our friends in the convention, who were for a conditional adoption only. However, the question, as you well know, was at last carried in the way it now stands. Altho' a division took place, both within and without the convention on this point, and for these reasons, yet we hope that a confidence remains on the minds of all, that each was governed by the principles of rectitude; and that the efforts and exertions of each other collectively, as well as individually, will be considered a duty in future; and made use of to obtain the great objects we have all had, and still have in view, to wit: the requisite amendments; by having a general convention called immediately, or as soon as possible after the organization of the new government.

With this design, we conceive it will be very necessary to advert to the ensuing election of members to represent this State in the assembly of the general government; and to endeavor to elect such characters as are in sentiment with us on the subject of amendments. Nor is the mode of election a matter of small importance, when it is considered that one mode may throw the balance in the hands of the advocates of an arbitrary government, while another may be favorable to equal liberty. The activity and duplicity of the principal of those who have contended for unequivocal adoption, and uncontrouled exercise of the new Constitution, notwithstanding their promises to assist in procuring a convention for the purposes already mentioned, have given us just causes of suspicion, that those promises were made with a view to deceive.

To facilitate a communication of sentiment and free discussion on this subject, with you and our friends in the other counties, and thereby further the great objects of our pursuit, and oppose with success the subtle practices of the adversaries of constitutional liberty, we have formed ourselves into a society for the purpose of procuring a general convention, agreeable to the circular letter of the late convention of this Sate; and we beg leave to recommend to your consideration the propriety of your joining together without delay for the like design.

We have only to add, that whatever diversity of sentiment may have taken place among the friends of equal liberty in our late convention, we are fully persuaded that they will unite their utmost exertions in the only mode which is now left. And should the present opportunity which is offered at the organization of the government, not be properly improved, it is highly probable such a favorable one will not be again presented; and the liberties of the people will then depend on the arbitrary decrees of their rulers.

In behalf of the Society, &c.

To Republican Committee of Ulster county.*

To the several States:

NEW YORK, Nov. 4, 1788.

Previous to the adoption of the new constitution, a committee was formed in this place, of those who disapproved of it without essential amendments, to open a correspondence with those of the sister States, who concurred with them in sentiment; to invite them to open a communication with us and concert an union of measures. From the characters of a large majority of those who composed our convention, we had reason to expect, they would not have adopted the constitution without stipulating for such previous amendments: and of this we advised our friends. Their proceedings, containing the amendments proposed, which we do ourselves the honor to inclose you, will justify this sentiment. A small majority, however, was found who were induced from ideas of political expediency, to assent to a qualified adoption, in such manner as would admit this State into a participation of the government. It is not necessary to detail the reasons at large; nor whether they were well grounded, that influenced this measure. They may be briefly comprized in the following:

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* Tillinghast papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

A sufficient number of states had acceded to the government, to authorize its going into operation; this being the case, it seems it was apprehended that the states who had adopted could not easily be prevailed upon to concur in any other mode to effect the requisite alterations, but the one pointed out in the Constitution itself. That if this state remained out of the Union, they might lose the opportunity of employing their influence in bringing them about. And from the dissatisfaction manifested by many of the states to the system as it stands; and from the spirit of accommodation, which it was hoped would prevail among those who approved of it; they were induced to believe that a general agreement would take place to call another Convention to consider, and recommend amendments to the objectionable parts. Though these and similar reasons, we believe influenced a majority to accede to the system, with certain declarations and explanations; yet even this, could not be obtained without an express declaration of their disapprobation of it; and agreeing to a circular letter, inviting the other states, to unite with ours in requiring a convention. In this both parties concurred unanimously.

We can with confidence assure you, that the opposition to the Constitution without amendments, has not decreased; but on the contrary, many of those who were zealous for its adoption, declare they will unite their efforts in endeavoring to have it reconsidered. But we have reason at the same time, to believe many of its most ardent advocates will use their influence and address, to prevent this. It is therefore the more necessary that the friends of equal republican government, should firmly unite in pursuing such measures, as will have a tendency to effect amendments. For this purpose, a number of gentlemen in this city, influenced by a sincere regard for constitutional liberty and the public good, have associated under the name of a society for the purpose of procuring a General Convention, agreeable to the circular letter of the late convention of this state; and have opened a correspondence with the several states; and with different parts of this state. Notwithstanding so large a part of the citizens of the United States, appear to be in sentiment, that it is necessary the constitution should be altered; in order to render the people happy, and their liberties secure under it; yet it is now evident these alterations will not be obtained without great exertions and pains to awaken the people to their interests and safety. Associations of the well informed and patriotic gentlemen in the different parts of the country, we apprehend will have the most salutary influence to effect so desirable an event; we therefore earnestly invite you to set this on foot, and to open a correspondence with us.

We have only to add that whatever diversity of sentiment may have taken place among the friends of equal liberty in our late convention we are fully persuaded that they will unite their utmost exertions to procure the amendments in the only mode that is now left. And should the opportunity, which is now offered at the organization of the government, not be properly improved, it is highly probable such a favorable one, will not be again presented; and the liberties of the people will then depend on the arbitrary decrees of their rulers.

In behalf, &c.

To

It was then determined that fair transcripts should be made, then signed by the chairman, and transmitted to the proper persons as early as possible.

The meeting was then adjourned to Thursday evening next, Nov. 13, and then to meet at the usual time and place.*

FRAUNCE'S TAVERN, Thursday
Evening, Nov. 13, 1788.

A sufficient number for business not having met, the gentlemen who assembled immediately adjourned, to meet whenever called upon by the chairman.

The special call of the Legislature by Governor Clinton superseded the labors of the committee in relation to the calling of a new convention, but before they separated they opened a correspondence in relation to the candidate for the Vice Presidency to be elected with Washington; and transmitted a circular letter to the several states of which, the following is a copy:

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* Tillinghast papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

Sir :

The Federal Republicans in this state, are of opinion that it is of great importance in the election of Vice President, that the choice fall upon a person who will be zealously engaged in promoting such amendments to the new Constitution as will render the liberties of the country secure under it.

For this purpose they have consulted some gentlemen in Virginia, who are united in sentiment with us, and are informed that they have it in view in that state, to vote for Gov. Clinton of this state, for that office. We have reason to believe that the Electors of this state will generally give their votes in his favor.*

It is highly probable, if your state would unite with Virginia, and ours, that Gov. Clinton will be elected. We need not make any observations, to show the influence that the Vice President will have, in the administration of the new Government. Nor is it necessary to say any thing respecting the talents or sentiments of this gentleman. Both are well known throughout the Union. If you should concur with us in opinion, you will take such measures to communicate the matter to the Electors of your state, as your prudence may dictate.†

The Schuyler party had now gained the Senate by a small majority,‡ while the party of the Governor in the House, retained a decided ascendency.§ Mr. Lawrence, from the majority of the Senate, brought in a bill, on the 13th December, 1788, for "Regulating the manner of appointing electors, who are to elect the President, and Vice President of the United States of America;"|| and two days after, another for the choice of Senators to represent the state in the Congress of the United States;¶ and simultaneously with these, Mr. Jones, from the Governor's party in the Assembly, brought in a bill embodying the choice of electors, and Senators,

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* The design thus early formed does not seem to have been disclosed until the election of 1792.

† Tillinghast papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

‡ Senate Journals. § Idem. || Idem. ¶ Idem.

"Entitled an act for carrying into effect, on the part of this state, the Constitution of the United States, assented to, and ratified by the Convention of this state, on the 26th July last."* The Senate passed both their bills, and they were summarily rejected by the House, three days afterward.† On the 22d December, the House perfected their bill, and transmitted it to the Senate for concurrence. The provisions of the bill were substantially the same as those now adopted for the choice of Senators of this state in Congress.‡ The Senate, on motion of Mr. Schuyler, amended the bill, so that of the two Senators to be chosen, each House were to nominate, and if the nomination disagree, the Senate were to choose one of those nominated by the House; and the House to choose one of those nominated by the Senate;§ and the same mode to prevail in the choice of Electors.

The House refused to concur in the amendment, and the Senate adhered. A conference was proposed 6 January, 1789, by the House, but it produced no agreement, and both parties resolved to maintain their respective positions.‖ A new bill for the choice of Senators, was framed by Mr. Jones, which was adopted by the House, on the 19th, containing the provisions of the rejected bill,¶ and the Assembly proposed a joint resolution in the following words: "Resolved, if the Senate concur therein, that eight persons be appointed Electors of the President, and Vice President of the United States of America, in the same manner as delegates are chosen to represesent this state, in the United States in Congress assembled, and that the House will immediately proceed to the nomination of eight persons, as aforesaid. That the said persons shall meet in the City Hall, of the city of Albany, on the first Wednesday of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, and then, and there proceed to vote by ballot, for two persons, as mentioned in the fifth section of the second article of the Constitution of the United States, in the manner, and agreeable to the directions therein contained; and further, to do, and perform all other, the duties enjoined upon them by the said Constitution."[*] To this, Mr. Schuyler, in the Senate, proposed an amendment, that eight electors be chosen; the Senate to choose four, and the House to choose the other four.[†] The Assembly refused to agree to the amendment, and the resolution fell.

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* Assembly Journals. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

§ Senate Journals and Assembly Journals. ‖ Idem. ¶ Idem.

The bill for the election of Senators shared the same fate;[‡] the Senate amended it, and the House refused to concur in the amendments. A second conference, invited by the Assembly, also, on the 9th February, resulted in disagreement.[§] and the time for the meeting of the Electors having passed, the state was not represented either in the Electoral College, or in the Senate of the United States.[||] The failure to choose Electors, disconcerted the plans of Gov. Clinton's friends, and he received but three votes, which were cast by electors from Virginia.[¶] This may be considered the first precedent in which parties in the Legislature, by pertinaciously adhering to modes of action, or to particular candidates, have defeated elections to the Senate of the United States.

Mr. Hammond suggests that the course taken by Messrs. Smith, Jones, and eleven other members of the Convention, in yielding the question of preliminary amendments, was advised by Gov. Clinton. Dunlap, too, says that it was the result of a determination in caucus. Both are probably mistaken. That a caucus was held, is known, and that thirteen of those who had voted against adjournment, on the 16th July, resolved to change, and did change their votes upon Mr. Smith's resolutions, as renewed by Mr. Lansing; but that this was adverse to the wishes of the Anti-Constitutionalists, is evident, from the vote on the final proposition of Mr. Lansing, and from the letter of Dewitt Clinton, which, as it respects the opposition, stood the same as before.

The seceding members were principally from Long Island,

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[*] Senate Journals and Assembly Journals. [†] Idem. [‡] Idem.

[§] Journals of Assembly. [||] Idem. [¶] Journals Congress.

and under the influence of Mr. Jones, while the delegation from Ulster, from which county the Governor was elected, to a man voted against adoption; so did that of Orange, the birth place of the Clintons, and where they had great control, with a single exception, and all the other delegations over whom the Governor had the most influence, stood firm in opposition. Again, the apologetic tone of the preceding letter of the Committee to the different counties, which most likely spoke the language of Messrs. Smith, and Jones, indicates an apprehension that the falling off of the southern portion of the state, had created a schism in the party of the Non-Adoptionists.

Mr. Hammond also intimates a doubt whether Gov. Clinton, seriously expected, that the call of another general Convention would be successful. The proccedings of the Committee, organized 13th October, some of whom were his most intimate friends, together with his special call of the Legislature, and his strenuous recommendation to that body, to carry out the unanimous resolve of the Convention in that respect, are pretty conclusive evidence. But the action of the Congress of 1789, which engrafted amendments upon the Constitution, superseded the necessity of the convocation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Party Excitements.—Quarrel between Oswald, and Hamilton.—Duel Prevented.—Heats in Albany.—Greene Street Battle.—Attack on Greenleaf's Office in New York.—On Gen. Lamb's House, meditated. —Preparations for Defence.—Design Abandoned.—Washington Nominates Lamb for the Collectorship.—Senate Confirm.—French Revolution.—Party Heats.—Republicans side with the French.—The Federalists lean to the other Party.—Aggressions of the British.—Contested Election between Jay, and Clinton.—Clinton successful.—Second Presidential Election.—Some votes cast for Clinton.—Arrival of Genet, the French Minister.—Great Honors paid him.—Cities Address him. —A French Frigate arrives.—Officers Feasted.—Fleet arrives.—French Privateers fitted out in the Delaware.—Lieutenants of the Ambuscade decoyed on board the Boston.—The Boston sends a Challenge to the Ambuscade.—Accepted—Battle.—Captain of the Boston killed. —Boston escapes.

The violence with which each party urged its arguments, and the acrimony which was exhibited against each other, in their respective party papers, gave rise to numerous quarrels and contentions, and in one instance had nearly ended in a duel, between Col. Oswald, and the great champion of the Constitutionalists. In consequence of some extraordinary provocation, a cartel was borne to the latter, by Major John Wiley, grandfather of Mr. Wiley, the bookseller; but upon explanation, satisfactory to Col. O., he withdrew the challenge, and the affair was adjusted honorably to both parties.

Mr. John C. Hamilton, in his book, vol. 2, page ---, asserts that there was a party combination, to take the life of his father by duel, and that it was defeated through the interposition of Isaac Ledyard. This is a grave charge, and should not have been lightly hazarded. Such a scheme might

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* Traditional history

have been broached by some rash, and violent men; but that it received countenance from any high-minded, and honorable man of the party, is not credible. If such a design had existed, the challenge of Col. Oswald would not have been so readily withdrawn, and a dispute so near the last resort, so easily compromised.

So far as Gen. Lamb was concerned, though placed in direct conflict with Col. H., on the question of rescinding the disqualifications of the Loyalists, and in the still more momentous one, of the adoption of the Constitution; there was yet a friendly intercourse between the former, and his great antagonist. On one occasion, Hamilton was expostulating with him, upon the violence of his opposition to the new scheme of government, and the unreasonableness of his fears, that its powers would be abused; since, as he observed, that it was matter of certainty, that Washington would be the first President. Lamb in reply, readily admitted, that unlimited power might be safely trusted to that great man; but he added, that he knew of no other mortal, to whom he would be willing to confide, the enormous authority which the Constitution had granted; and that not even the influence of a name so illustrious, could shake his opposition to the dangerous instrument.

Difference of opinion, in regard to the adoption of the Constitution, created violent contentions; and party feuds had scarcely ever raged higher. When the news of the accession of Virginia reached Albany, on the 3d July, the friends of the new charter repaired to the fort, where it was read, and fired a salute on the occasion. The next day being the anniversary of Independence, the other party commenced the celebration of the national birth day by burning the Constitution at the same place where their adversaries had testified their joy. These acts excited mutual bitterness; and when, in the exuberance of their triumph, the constitu-

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* Traditional history.

tionalists, in procession, determined to pass the house at which the other party held their celebration, they were resisted, and driven back.*

Rallying in greater force, they made another attempt in a different direction. To repel this, the other party had planted a field piece, in Green street, charged with small stones, in the middle of the street, opposite to their citadel, through which the assault was to be made. And as the troop of dragoons, which headed the procession of their antagonists, began their charge, the defenders of the pass applied the match to their gun; but the priming had been wetted, or the piece spiked, and it failed to explode. Superiority of numbers prevailed; and, notwithstanding a stout resistance, in which many on both sides were wounded, the anti-constitutionalists were routed. This affray is still remembered; and the stoney battle of Green street is part of the history of the time.†

The anti-constitutionalists, although the dominant party in the state, were in a fearful minority in the city. The paper of that party, which for sometime after the death of its original conductor, had been managed by Greenleaf for the benefit of the widow of Mr. Holt, had become the property of the editor; who, although a decided party man, resolved to conduct the contest with moderation. And in comparison with the practice which afterwards prevailed, and which continues to the present day, it must be admitted that his course was marked with great prudence and impartiality. Notwithstanding this forbearance, as the hopes of the friends of adoption increased, their animosities against the opposers of the constitution, enkindled from day to day. And when the great victory, which had been so long doubtful, was at length decided in their favor, they resolved to manifest their triumph by signal marks of vengeance upon the editor and his friends.

This was threatened for several days previous, but

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* Loudon's paper.

† Greenleaf.

Greenleaf, relying too much upon the justice of his enemies, took very imperfect measures to defend his premises and property.* His domicile was in Pine street, and he was visiting at the house of Maj. J. Miles Hughes, on the other side of the street, and nearly opposite. As soon as the tumultuous cheerings of the mob were heard approaching the entrance of William street from Wall, he began to apprehend that his office would be assailed. Hurrying across, armed only with his pistols, he dismissed his workmen, who were preparing the paper for publication, and determined to abide the defence alone. One of his apprentices, however, refused to quit with the others, and armed with the best weapon he could find, stood by the editor's side. It was not until midnight that the rioters were prepared for the attempt, when they marched into the street and commenced the attack. Greenleaf, with his resolute apprentice, were in the chamber above; and upon throwing open his window to ascertain the number and character of his invaders, he was saluted by a shower of stones; and he discharged in return one of his pistols among the crowd. The shot took effect upon the dexter hand of a sailor, who, attracted by the glorious mischief going forward, was foremost of the group, and carried away two of the middle fingers. Thus placed hors du combat, he made his retreat, and two of the most vociferous of the party, who had stood near him, thinking the affair past a joke, followed in his wake. The second pistol, though aimed with hearty good will, missed fire. Axes had been procured, and Major W. Livingston was using one of them, in order to force an entrance, when Greenleaf, reaching his arm out of the window, brought the muzzle of the pistol within a few feet of the ear of the assailant, and pulled trigger without effect. The click of the lock, and the formidable appearance of the weapon, caused some of the party to recoil; but a second attempt to fire it being ineffectual, they returned to the charge.† The office was forced, while the garrison above stairs made their escape at the rear of the building, into Wall street.

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* Greenleaf's paper.

† Traditional History.

The rioters, disappointed by this escape, threw every thing into *pi*, damaged the cases, and carried off some of the materials, by which means the publication of the paper was suspended for many days.*

Others were not so improvident of the means of defence; and General Lamb, the most obnoxious of the anti adoptionists, had been loudly threatened. With the vigilance of an old campaigner, he provided fifteen or twenty stand of arms, with the requisite ammunition, which with his side arms constituted tolerable means of defence. As soon as it was known that the attack was meditated on that night, Col. Oswald, who happened to be in town, repaired to the house, and Capt. Tillinghast, son-in-law to the General, also arrived. General Lamb had sent his wife with some of the female domestics, to the house of Mr. Tillinghast in Cherry street; his sister was also sent abroad; but his youngest daughter, afterwards married to Reuben Attwater, who became Secretary of Michigan in 1808, with a Miss Chapman from Connecticut, a visitor in the family, refused to quit the house. And a colored servant, much attached to her master, determined to remain also. This Amazonian reserve was stationed in the attick story, where a large number of porter bottles, and heavy Dutch tiles, the *debris* of a former roof, had been stowed away. The party above had orders to cast these among the crowd at the first report of musketry. Not having been able to provide himself with hand grenades, as was his original intention, the commander deemed these no inefficient substitute.

The females thus disposed, the garrison below was mustered. Captain Tillinghast received peremptory orders to join his family at home;† and notwithstanding his ardent supplication for permission to remain, under a threat of personal ejection in case of recusancy, he reluctantly obeyed.

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* Greenleaf's paper.

† Family tradition.

About this time a reinforcement arrived in the person of Major John Wiley, a relative of the family, a gentleman of well known courage and resolution; and one who had figured largely in the prostration of the King's statue in the Bowling Green, on the day that the news of the declaration of independence was received. Three veterans, a youth of seventeen, the present Gen. Anthony Lamb, and a near relative about the same age, then a medical student, afterwards Dr. John Lamb, who died of yellow fever in 1798; with a black servant, formerly belonging to Gen. Bloomfield of New Jersey, who had been with his former master at the battle of Monmouth, and no flincher withal, was the effective force remaining. The doors and windows below were barred; the hall was obstructed by a *barricade,* composed of the furniture of the dining room; the stairway was in like manner defended; and the garrison was mustered in the second story.* The boys were stationed at the magazine, to hand fresh muskets, and to load those emptied at each discharge; and thus prepared, Gen. Lamb placed each man at his station, with strict injunctions, in no event to be provoked to fire, until he should begin the action; resolving to reserve his own fire until the assault should seriously begin. All the lights were extinguished, save that at the *arsenal,* to enable the guns to be reloaded with accuracy and dispatch, and in this condition they quietly awaited the onslaught.

The rioters having finished at Greenleaf's, with shouts and huzzas, began to throng into Wall street, where on the south side, about mid way between Pearl and William streets, Gen. Lamb resided. The whole street in front of the house, it being moonlight, presented to the view of those stationed at the windows, a dense mass of heads; while the shutters of the windows being closed, and loop holes cut for observation, and for the fire arms, nothing was discoverable from without.† All sorts of noises, threats, and revilings were vociferously uttered, but the inmates of the house made no reply; and the leaders of the mob, somewhat disconcerted, prepared to hold a council of war. The conclusion to which they arrived was, either that the house was deserted, or that it was to be vigorously defended. The first suggestion, the well known character of the occupant forbade them to indulge; and coming to the latter conclusion, they all knew the hazard of the encounter, and very prudently abandoned the enterprise.

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* Family tradition.

† Idem.

The matter at this day may be treated with pleasantry, but it was a most solemn crisis, and pregnant with serious danger. Had the attempt been made, so ample were the means of defence, and so obstinate the courage of the defenders; that a fearful loss of life would have ensued. If ultimately successful, the invaders might have taken the *females* captive; but the dead bodies of the male defenders, alone would have signalized the triumph; while hecatombs of their own friends would have been sacrificed in the affray. The city would have been disgraced; and the sanguinary scenes afterwards enacted at Baltimore, would not have lacked a precedent. This was the only tumult which occurred on the final adoption of the Constitution, and the great and important change in the government of a nation, was quietly effected.

The complexion given to parties by the controversies in regard to the restoration of the tories, was for a while, merged in the disputes concerning the Constitution; whose friends had become intolerant after their success; and strenuous exertions were made to punish those who had opposed its adoption. The first session of the Congress after the election of President and Vice President, was held in New York; and great efforts were made to induce General Washington to overlook Lamb, (who held the office of Collector of the Customs under the government of New York,) in his nominations to the Senate. He had not solicited the nomination of the President; and a pretext was made, that he ought for that cause to be dropped; but the chief arguments used against him, were the active measures which he had taken to defeat the adoption of the Constitution. These latter considerations, had no weight in the mind of Washington; who was too just to punish any one, for a difference of political opinion; but he was seriously embarrassed by the neglect of Lamb, to make application for reappointment.*

Many were the candidates for the office, who sanguinely expected the President's influence in their favor; and still General Lamb adhered inflexibly to his resolution not to solicit the appointment. To the arguments of his friends, who urged him to apply; he replied, "No man knows better than the President, whether I have acquired claims upon the government, by services to the country.† If he thinks proper to nominate me I shall be duly grateful for the favor; but if he should deem another man's pretensions more worthy than mine; I shall cheerfully submit."‡ For several days the President withheld the nomination, in the expectation of a formal application; but being apprized of the footing upon which General Lamb rested his case, on the 6th Aug. 1879, ? he sent in his name to the Senate, who unanimously ratified the appointment.§

Accounts were, on the 24th September, received of the commencement of the French Revolution; which being headed by La Fayette, and many who had served in America, was hailed with great enthusiasm by all parties. Even those who had adhered to the Crown, during the war, viewed the event with joy; as it seemed to strike a blow against the natural enemies of Britain. But as that revolution advanced, the doubtful course, pursued by the parties which successively displaced each other, shook the faith of the more sagacious in the patriotism of all. And when the sanguinary proceedings of the Jacobins, had disgraced the nation, and stained the cause by their course of rapine and blood, a large party in the United States reprobated and denounced it.

But there were many, who did not approve of the murders and crimes of the revolutionists; yet could not abandon hopes of a beneficial termination of the revolt; and were for strengthening the efforts of France, by the direct influence of the government. This was avoided by the President; and a position of neutrality was taken by the administration. Out of this question, grew violent contentions; the lines, which had been drawn during the contest for the enfranchisement of the tories; were now, more strongly marked than ever; and the parties, mutually charged each other, with being factions of the belligerents of Europe; and in truth, the situations, into which both parties had been thrown by circumstances, gave color to the accusation. The exasperations produced by these collisions, were continually increasing. If the friends of the administration were justified in their course, by the malconduct of the revolutionists; the friends of France, were confirmed in their detestation of the English, by the unwarrantable conduct of their government; who still kept possession of the posts upon the upper lakes; and even maintained a naval armament on Lake Champlain.

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* Family tradition. † Idem. ‡ Idem. § Senate Journals.

Nor did the conduct of the commanders of British vessels arriving, 7th December, 1791, in our harbors, tend to diminish the excitement against their government. An armed schooner of that nation arrived, which, upon being boarded by our revenue officer, claimed exemption from the visit, as a government vessel; and the master refused to show his commission.*

The anti-constitutional party in the city which had hitherto claimed to be designated as the Federal Republican, now abandoned the ground to their antagonists, and adopted the title of Republican; and the electioneering contest was carried on under that name, opposed to the one under which they had formerly rallied; and which had been usurped from them.

The Bank of New York, which had been established under the auspices of Col. Hamilton in 1784, was, 25th March, 1791, incorporated; and as it had always exercised an important influence upon the elections, its power upon the approaching struggle, was not weakened by the stability which it had acquired by its charter.

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* Greenleaf's and other papers.

The chair of State was in 1792 disputed between George Clinton of the Republican party, and John Jay, the Federal candidate; and the battle was carried on with great virulence. The Clinton party, charged upon the opposing candidate, the authorship of many severe articles which had been published against them. This charge, entirely inconsistent with his whole character, was indignantly denied by Mr. Jay. But on the 4th April, the most singular theme of vituperation against the Federal candidate, was that of being *too much under the influence of the general administration.** Clinton was elected, and the defeated candidate was appointed Chief Justice of the United States. The second election of President and Vice President, took place about this time; and George Clinton received fifty votes for the Vice Presidency.† New York had now passed a law for the appointment of electors; and twelve of her votes were cast for Clinton. Virginia gave him twenty-one; North Carolina twelve; Georgia four; and Pennsylvania one.

The heats engendered by this election, had not subsided, when the French frigate, the Ambuscade, arrived at Charleston on the 8th April, 1792, bringing as Minister of the French Republic, Edmond Charles Genet, Adjutant-General of the Republican armies. This vessel had made many prizes on our coast; and the èclat given to the arrival of the gallic envoy, was as grateful to the Republican, as it was repulsive to the Federal party. The papers gave out, that the new Minister was about to declare certain ports open to a more extended commerce with the United States; and this announcement had a tendency to increase the public good will towards the Republic and its missive. The progress of the

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* Greenleaf's and other papers.

† Journals of Congress.

Ambassador towards the seat of government, was triumphal. His approach was heralded by the newspapers; and the citizens, on the 17th May, en masse, were invited to meet him, and escort him into Philadelphia. A public address was given him; and the high honors which were paid him by the people, could not have failed to confirm him in a belief of the popularity of his mission, and of his personal importance. And when the Ambuscade, which had brought him, after scouring the coast, arrived in the bay of New York, 12th June, the commander of the Frigate and his officers, were received with the highest distinction.* The Cap of Liberty was erected upon the top of the flag staff of the Tontine, on the 15th, which was declared under the protection of all real Whigs; its molestation denounced, and the removal strictly forbidden.

After enjoying for ten days the demonstrations of the friendship of the Republicans, the commander of the Ambuscade, on the 22d June, sailed on a cruise, with the good wishes of the one, and the maledictions of the other party. Factious animosities continued to increase; French privateers were fitted out in southern ports, and in the Delaware; and citizens of Pennsylvania were arrested for having served on board them. The general government, as was proper, denounced them; and issued a proclamation of neutrality, which was ill received by the Republicans, who doubled their demonstrations of respect for the French envoy, as the administration seemed disposed to circumscribe his influence.

The conduct of the envoy was conciliatory to the people; and he severely denounced the commanders of certain French vessels, for maltreating the American flag. The Ambuscade arrived on the 14th July, and her officers received renewed tokens of the friendship of the Republicans, whose sympathies were more strongly excited by an occurrence not very honorable to the British flag.† A pilot boat came in, on the 21st, reporting the Concorde, a consort of the French vessel, off the Hook; and a Lieutenant with a boat's crew, unwilling to await the arrival of the frigate, went out to meet her. Deceived by the report of the pilot, and by the tri-colored flag, which was spread aloft, they mounted the decks; when to their surprise, they found themselves prisoners of war, on board the Boston, a British frigate. This ungenerous act was severely reprobated by the Republicans; and the treachery of the pilot, deservedly denounced. The commander of the Boston, not satisfied with the insult that he had offered, sent to Capt. Bompard, of the Ambuscade, an invitation to meet him at sea; and the French frigate, on the 30th July, sailed with the intention of fighting the Boston. It was said that this challenge was accepted, at the solicitations of some of the leading Republicans of the city. It in certain that many citizens volunteered to man the French ship; and others thronged the pilot boats, and went down to the Hook, in order to witness the approaching combat. The vessels met; and after a severe action, Courtney, the Captain of the Boston, was killed; his main-top-mast shot away, and with much water in her hold, the British ship bore away for Halifax. Bompard for some time followed the chase; but all his lower masts being wounded, and it being imprudent to follow her farther, his antagonist escaped.*

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* Greenleaf's and other papers.

† Idem.

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* Greenleaf's and other papers.

CHAPTER XXV.

Bets upon the Issue of the Battle —French Party elated.—Mortification of the English.—Genet arrives in the City.—Demonstrations of Respect.—Arrogance of the Minister.—Government ueutral.—Genet threatens to appeal to Congress from the President's decision.—Charged with threatening to appeal to the People.—Denies the charge —Calls upon the Attorney-General of the U. S. to prosecute Jay and King for circulating the Report.—Attorney-General refuses.—Ultraism of Party on both sides.—Tri-colored cockade worn by the Republicans.—Term Democrat introduced.—Democratic Society formed.—Governor orders the Ships of War of both Nations below Governor's Island.—French Liberty Cap mounted on the Flag-staff at the Tontine.—Contested Election between Jay and Yates.—Jay successful.—Jay's Treaty denounced.—Public Meetings.—Democrats burn the Treaty.—Quarrel between Gen. Hamilton and Commodore Nicholson.—Compromised.—Popularity of Genet declines. Lamb's ill health —Death of his Assistant and Son-in-law.—Death of Col. Oswald.—Infidelity of Lamb's Clerk.—Consequent Difficulties.—Attack of the Gout.—Death.—His Character.

Bets had run extravagantly high, upon the result of this encounter. All who believed in the invincibility of the tars of old England, had given large odds that the Ambuscade would be taken; and were not a little chop-fallen, at their disappointment; while the exultation of the Republicans was vociferous.

During the continuance of these excitements, on the 3d Aug., a French fleet, of fifteen sail, arrived in port; whose officers were treated with the same extravagant civility which had been bestowed upon those of the Ambuscade. And in the midst of these demonstrations, the arrival of the French Minister at Powle's Hook, was announced on the 7th.* The bells were rung, a salute was fired, and a large meeting was held in the fields, of which Commodore James

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* Greenleaf's and other papers.

Nicholson was chairman, and White Matlack secretary; and a committee of forty was appointed to arrange a meeting with the ambassador, and to escort him into town. The next day, a counter meeting was called, of which Nicholas Cruger was chairman, which strongly inculcated the observance of the President's proclamation of neutrality, and denounced service on board French privateers. The Chamber of Commerce concurred with this meeting.

The very extraordinary countenance which had every where been given by the leaders of the republican party to the French envoy, together with the enthusiastic reception which the people gave him on his advent among them, inflated the pride of the Minister, who was not over diffident of his own importance. He had been led into much imprudence of language with regard to the Executive and his advisers; and he disclosed to Alexander J. Dallas of Philadelphia, his determination to appeal to Congress from the President's measures. Mr. Dallas reported this conversation to Gov. Mifflin of Pennsylvania, who understood him to say, the Minister had threatened to appeal from the President to the people; and the Governor in turn detailed to Messrs. Hamilton and Knox, members of the President's cabinet, that the envoy had so threatened. These gentlemen repeated this information to Messrs. Jay and King, who, at the moment when the popular favor towards France was at the highest, published, under the sanction of their names in the newspapers, the threat of M. Genet, as they had understood it.

This statement was denied by the friends of the Minister, and as confidently reaffirmed by the opposite party; criminations and recriminations were lavishly uttered, and the rancour of the different factions was increased.*

M. Genet, unwilling to remain under the charge brought against him by Messrs. Jay and Hamilton, wrote a letter to the President, calling upon him to disavow it. This letter was replied to by Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, in which he apprises the Minister that direct applications to the Executive are inadmissable, and that to the Department of State his appeals ought to be addressed.

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* Greenleaf's and other papers.

A new cause of complaint was found by the Minister in consequence of the revocation, by the President, of the exequatur of the Vice-Consul of France to Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Against this act, the envoy rudely remonstrated, and denied the authority of the President in the case. He followed this declaration by a formal complaint, to the Secretary of State, against Messrs. Jay and Hamilton. He also wrote to the Attorney-General, Randolph, calling upon him to vindicate the honor of France by prosecuting those gentleman for a libel upon her Minister; but that functionary, after a conference with the French envoy, declined to prosecute, because he did not consider the case sustainable. During all these controversies, the republican party, in all parts of the country, spmpathized with Genet; and the citizens of Philadelphia gave him a public dinner.*

About this period, Col. Oswald, formerly Lieut.-Col. of Lamb's regiment, and who had gained much reputation by his conduct of the artillery at the battle of Monmouth, returned. He had been to England upon some business, and guided by his natural enthusiasm for liberty and passion for military renown, had crossed the channel and entered the army of Dumourier. He was received with distinction, and the command of a regiment of artillery was given him; in which he served at the battle of Mons or Jemappe.† The

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* Greenleaf's paper.

† Col. Oswald, is undoubtedly, the American alluded to in the following sketch:

" The French were aware of the superiority of the cavalry of the enemy they had to contend with: to this force, they were strongly advised by an American, who had made a campaign with them in the Low Countries, and was at the battle of Jemappe, to bring a more than usual quantity of artillery into the field. This suggestion was adopted and appearance of this officer in his foreign uniform, and wearing the tri-colored cockade, among his former acquaintances, tended in no small degree to exacerbate the hostilities of his old antagonists; while the frequent insults of the British to our flag upon the high seas, and their spoliations upon our commerce, inflamed the hostilities of the republicans against that nation, and all those who directly, or indirectly, sustained it. Meetings were called, on the 27th Feb., 1794, to take into consideration these spoliations; and the declamations, pro and con, were highly exciting. In this state of feeling all classes and occupations mingled. It even invaded the green room of the theatre; and Mrs. Melmoth, then in high favor with the public, refusing to speak an epilogue to the opera of Tammany, came very near experiencing a severe rebuke, for that refusal, from the adherents of the republican party. The tri-colored cockade was worn by numbers; and some enthusiasts recommended its adoption as the national cockade of the Union. French manners and modes of address were imitated; the term of "citizen" was adopted by many; and the democrats, who favored the French, and the Sons of Liberty of our own revolution, were, in the publications of the republicans, strongly assimilated.* A writer, whose article was headed "Democrat No. 1," addressed the President as "Citizen George Washington;" and a democratic society was formed, of which Commodore Nicholson was president, and Tunis Wortman secretary.† From this period may be dated the adoption of the term democrat in the party nomenclature;

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occasioned a sudden and vast promotion of officers."—*Biography of Moreau; Universal Magazine, No. IV. of Vol. I, for April*, 1804.

* Greenleaf's paper.

† Mr. Davis, in his life of Burr, vol. 1, page 53, says, "Soon after the adoption of the New Constitution, the anti-federal party were recognized by a name more descriptive of their principles and their views. They assumed the title of Democrats. They considered themselves anti-constitutionalists; but not anti-federalists." In this he is certainly mistaken.

and the successors of the party of that day, were long known sometimes as republicans, sometimes as democrats. The democratic society and its officers were denounced and ridiculed by the federalists;* its members were called Jacobins and sans culottes; but they stoutly defended themselves; and democratic societies were every where established under the auspices of the French Minister.

The ships of war of both nations were crowded into the harbor, and Gov. Clinton, probably considering their proximity alarming, on the 12th June, ordered the armed vessels in port to go below Governor's Island, and inhibited them all approach to the city within a mile of that place. This was afterwards, on the 24th Oct., relaxed to vessels wanting repairs.†

The flag staff at the Tontine was surmounted by the Cap of Liberty; and the democrats had hoisted the tri-colored flag beneath the national emblem. This was, on the 20th May, 1795, hauled down by the opposite party and secreted; or, as the papers of the democrats phrased it, " insultingly and feloniously" carried away.‡ But the indignation of the party was appeased when, after a few days, it was reclaimed and restored. In the midst of these heats and heart burnings, an election occurred. George Clinton having declined to be again the candidate of his party, Robert Yates, Chief Justice of the State, was selected in his stead; and William Floyd was associated with him as Lieutenant-Governor; while the federal party put in nomination John Jay, Envoy to the Court of St. James, and Stephen Van Rensselaer, the Patroon of Albany, as their candidates. They were triumphant; and for the first time the power of the state government passed from the republican party.

In proportion to the decline of their influence, the animosities of that party increased. Fuel was added to the flame, when the terms of the treaty, negotiated by Chief Justice Jay, with the British government, 15th July, 1795, were disclosed to the public. The Senate had this important subject for some time before them, in secret session, when the whole matter was prematurely made known to the people, by Stevens Thompson Mason, a Senator from Virginia.* The burst of indignation which followed this disclosure was extreme. The Democratic papers denounced the treaty most emphatically; they indulged hopes of its rejection by the Senate; and after it had been ratified by that body, they clung to the belief, that the President would interpose his veto to the adoption.

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* Greenleaf. † Proclamation of the Governor. ‡ Idem.

Disappointed in their expectations, no other resource was left them, but to express their repugnance to the treaty, and its abettors, and by attempts to rouse the popular sentiment against them. Public meetings were called; July 18th, thanks were resolved to Mr. Mason, for his conduct in the Senate, and the treaty was abused, and repudiated. At one of these assemblies of the people, Alexander Hamilton, and Rufus King, undertook the defence of Gov. Jay, and his treaty;† and they defended the compact, with their usual ability; while on the other side, it was formidably assailed by Peter R. Livingston, Brockholst Livingston, and others. A majority of the meeting, disapproved the treaty. Committees were chosen to report resolves against it, and a procession of five hundred, on the 22d July, proceeded to the Battery, where the document, so obnoxious to their resentment, was formally burnt. Never, since the commotions of 1765, and 1775, had party acrimony risen to so high a pitch, or threatened such dangerous results.‡ Bitter quarrels were engendered, and a duel was about to be fought between Col. Hamilton, and Commodore Nicholson, which happily, was prevented by the interposition of Dewitt Clinton, aided by other pacificators.§

It is hardly necessary to declare, that in all these excitements, Gen. Lamb, in perfect consistency with his enthusiastic character, and his former preferences, took a decided part, although incapacitated by frequent attacks of the gout, from assuming an active lead. His predilections, as regarded the belligerents of Europe, leaned to France, and throughout the whole contest, he was the determined supporter of the Democratic party. His house had been, and still was the resort of all the officers of the French vessels, when in port. Bompard was *fêted* there, on his triumphal return from his action with the Boston, and it was the rallying point of all who were in favor of the Revolutionists of France.

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* Greenleaf, and other papers. † Idem. ‡ Greenleaf.

§ This is asserted upon the declaration of Solomon Southwick.

From his earliest acquaintance with George Clinton, Gen. Lamb had imbibed the warmest attachment, to that excellent man; and he ranged himself on all occasions, under the political banner of that devoted patriot. This friendship was as ardently returned, and endured until it was dissolved by death. With the French Minister, his relations had been always friendly; and these ties became closer cemented, by the alliance of that personage, with the family of his friend.

If the honors paid to the Envoy by the people, and his consequent triumphs were too exuberant; the reaction of the popular sentiment, through the instrumentality of the great leaders of the Federal party, was unjustly severe; but in his exultations in prosperity, and in his subsequent mortifications, and undeserved disgrace, Gen. Lamb ardently, and sincerely sympathized. These predilections, and the ardor with which he sustained them, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the resentment of the party opposed to him.

Gen. Lamb had never been able to eradicate the gout, which had so severely attacked him in the hospital in Quebec; and the fatigues, and exposure, incident to a military life, had augmented the inveteracy of that cruel disease. Its attacks now became more frequent, and severe; often threatenening the vital parts, and at length, he was in a great measure confined to his own house, and unable in person to attend to the duties of his office. These, however, were ably managed by Capt. Charles Tillinghast, his son-in-law, much to the satisfaction of the public, and the government. This gentleman, during the ravages of the yellow fever, prompted by the benevolence of his own heart, and acting as minister to the charities of Gen. Lamb, which were in that distressing calamity, extended to all within his reach; had exposed himself to the contagion, by visiting the unfortunate persons under its influence, and was himself visited by a severe attack of the dreadful malady. He survived this, but upon his convalescence, he again exerted himself on similar missions of humanity; a relapse occurred, always more fatal than the first attack, and in a few days he fell a victim of his own philanthropy.

This loss, to all his friends and relatives, was irreparable. To Gen. Lamb it was heart-rendingly severe. Independent of the claims to his attachment, from his close affinity, as his son-in-law; the amiable character, and exalted virtues of the deceased, had acquired his unbounded affection, and the blow was heavy indeed.

Aside from those family ties, and those social virtues of the deceased, which had attracted the affections of all who knew him; the fidelity and zeal with which Mr. Tillinghast had performed his duty to the country throughout the war, had given him additional claims to the regard of General Lamb. He had served with distinguished credit, as assistant of Col. Hughes, in the Quarter-Master's department, of the Middle District, a position arduous in the extreme, and attended with great danger, whenever his functions were to be exercised within the neutral ground: the inhabitants of which had become demoralized by the disorders of the times, and by the alternate incursions of both the British, and American armies. After the retirement of Col. H., Mr. Tillinghast continued in the department, under the immediate command of Col. Pickering, the Quarter-Master General.

While acting with Col. Hughes, they had one signal opportunity of carrying into execution the special orders of the

Commander-in-Chief, whose prudence, and forecast were ever vigilant. This was in providing the means of transport, for bringing off the army, after the fatal defeat on Long Island, in 1776. Every thing available along the coast, from Spuyten Duyvel creek, to the Sound, had been, during the battle, pressed into the service by order of Washington; and the secrecy with which these vessels were secured, and posted, with the promptitude, and energy of the officers employed, called forth the special acknowledgement of the Commander-in-Chief, after the retreat was perfected.

During both these attacks of the pestilence, he who had ministered in like extremity to others, received from his friends, every assistance, and consolation they could bestow. Col. Willett, who had been his partner in business, with Anthony Lamb, his friend, and brother, were constantly with him, and Col. Oswald, who happened in town at the last attack, flew to the bedside of the sufferer, whom he loved with fraternal affection, and relieved his other nurses in their assiduous efforts to restore him. The two first, escaped the danger to which they had exposed themselves; but Oswald, who had so often faced death in the field of battle, was now to encounter him in a different sphere. In his attendance upon the last moments of his expiring friend, he had contracted the unrelenting pestilence, and in a few days after he had seen the remains of one he had loved, deposited in their last resting place, in Trinity Church yard; he himself died, and was buried in Saint Paul's, on the 2d October.*

The death of his old friend, and faithful companion in arms, following so near, a dearer loss, was attended by other bereavements, which added to his distress, and severely affected the health, and spirits of Gen. Lamb; but in the society of his domestic circle, which was now increased by the widow, and orphans of his departed son; and in the sympathies of many of his fellow soldiers, he found consolation in the infirmities which were growing upon him. He had another source of comfort, in the indulgence of the benevolence of his heart, and the liberality of his disposition. The bounties distributed by his means, to the sick and suffering, during the trying scenes of the yellow fever, were long remembered, and the writer of this memoir, in a country far removed from the sphere in which they had been disseminated, heard them recounted, by one who had witnessed them, and had been herself, a recipient of his benefactions.

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* Greenleaf's paper.

Nor were his benevolences confined to this, and similar occasions alone. In repeated instances, his means were freely used to open the prison doors, to many, whom the rigorous laws of the time, had doomed, as debtors, to confinement, which, without the aid of others, would have been perpetual. Frequent were the calls upon his open handed generosity; and seldom, whether from Jew, or Gentile, were they made in vain. The following letter, among many others of a similar character, was found among the papers of Mrs. Tillinghast, his eldest daughter; which, as it does credit to the writer, as well as illustrates the character of the individual to whom it is addressed, is inserted entire :

My Dear General Lamb :

Before I retire to rest, let me entreat you to accept all that the heart of gratitude can offer, for the friendship you have shown to Mr. Nathan, and myself, and believe that no period of time, however remote, can possibly lessen the idea I entertain of your exalted worth, or lead to a forgetfulness of the sensations, which your benevolence of disposition, this moment gives rise to my *now* made happy bosom; they will live with my life, and end but in my death; for you have kindly snatched me from the black precipice of despair, and placed me in the bright and cheering ray of hope. To-morrow, my husband, through your charitable aid, will be set free from prison! Thus am I given to expect; and may the Father of mercies enable Mr. Nathan to repay thee, my dear General, in some measure; for he never can render *ample* compensation [for] the manifold obligations he owes you in this, the present case, and those of long past date.

I received your polite message by my friend, Mr. Moses, and lament exceedingly that you are in pain. My prayers are offered to the throne of grace, for the reëstablishment of your health, and that the sweet reward of virtue, may be ever thine.

You will pardon my frequent addresses to you, sir, and receive them as the warm effusions of a mind yielding to the impulses of affectionate gratitute and esteem.

Good night my dear General. That you may ever wake to happiness, and every earthly blessing, is the ardent, and first wish rising in the breast of your infinitely obliged friend,

G. Nathan.*

My warmest acknowledgments are due to your son-in-law, Mr. Tillinghast, which my heart prompts me to solicit him to accept, through the channel of this letter.

God bless you sir,

G. N.

Tuesday night, 11 o'clock.

Gen. Lamb.†

In these pursuits, so soothing to a charitable heart, Gen. Lamb continued to employ himself, and to seek consolation for the bereavement of friends, and for the ravages in the circle of his political associates, by the mutations of the times. The success of the Federalists was complete, and many of those who had been ardent in their devotion to Clinton, and his measures; when the fountain of political patronage was no longer within his control, and its stream was diverted into another channel, followed the current, and joined the triumphant party.

To one so ardent of temper, party defeat, and its concomitants, were severe, and they were correspondently felt; but a blow was impending, more momentous in its consequences; one fatal to his peace;—which overwhelmed him in distress, and cut him short of the luxury of benevolence. The death of Mr. Tillinghast was unfortunate to Gen. Lamb, in more than one respect. He not only lost a tender, and devoted son, but an able assistant in his business; and one, who for perfect knowledge of its details, it was not easy to replace.

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* This is the same lady who remonstrated with Miss Edgeworth, against the portrait of the Jew, in the story of the "Prussian Vase."

† Lamb papers, N. Y. His. Soc.

During the illness of this gentleman, the business usually entrusted to his care, was confided to another, for whose diligence, and fidelity, Gen. Lamb conceived he had ample warrant. He had, many years before, been importuned to assist an Englishman, confined in jail upon a debt; the amount of which being large, seemed for ever to exclude the debtor from hope of redemption. Upon favorable representations of his integrity, and capacity, Gen. Lamb discharged the debt, and gave the released captive employment as one of the clerks of the Custom House. The industry, and ability which he displayed, won the confidence of his employer, and that of his substitute, and he was promoted to the most confidential station under the Deputy.

This man, during the illness of Mr. Tillinghast; upon his decease; and until his successor could be sufficiently instructed in the knowledge of the business; had been left in charge of the whole fiscal concerns of the department; and in the interval of his supervision, had commenced a system of peculation and embezzlement, which was carried on afterwards; and by great adroitness, concealed from detection. Suddenly he left his employment; and giving out that he had inherited a large fortune by the death of a relation in England, he embarked extensively in foreign commerce; set up a coach, and launched forth into a luxurious and expensive style of living. It was not long after this, that a large deficiency of the funds of the Custom House was discovered.

This disclosure was as astounding to Gen. Lamb, as it was agonizing to him and all his friends. The defalcation was utterly inexplicable to him; nor could the scrutiny of his assistants ascertain in what manner it had occurred. No one; not even the most bitter of his enemies, doubted the perfect honor and integrity of the collector; and many of these, forgetting their political hostility, sympathized in his distress on the occasion. It was well known, that the large property of Gen. Lamb was amply sufficient to cover quadruple the amount of the deficiency; and in order to ascertain the exact sum, the agents of the government called to their aid the quondam clerk, who had so recently left the office.

This unprincipled wretch then unravelled a part of his own web; and by investigations which he alone could make; accounts which had been passed by the government were opened, and errors detected, by which the defalcation was swelled to a much greater amount than was at first discovered.

At this juncture, Gen. Hamilton and Col. Troup, the most formidable of his political opponents, called upon Gen. Lamb, and assured him, that if a schedule of his property should be given to the government; and its fiscal agents could be convinced of its availability to discharge the debt; that ample time would be given him, to raise the necessary sum. This was done; a list of lands, far exceeding in value his liability to the Treasury, was given, and he resigned the office.

To make the security of the government the more assured, the wealthy friends of Gen. Lamb, offered to take a part of the property, and give their individual bonds, on time, to the government; and this proposition was acceded to: but when each was prepared to give security for the share which he was willing to assume, the agent of the government refused to carry out the arrangement; and required a joint and several bond of the parties to be executed. This was not complied with: the most summary process was resorted to; and the property was sold by the Marshal, under an execution of the government.

As might have been expected, it was sold at an enormous loss. Lands treble the value of the whole debt, were sacrificed; the family was ruined; and the government claim was not yet satisfied. For this, the agents of the government were alone to blame. Their mistaken policy forever put it out of the power of their victim to discharge the deficiency. Messrs. Hamilton and Troup did not see their fellow soldier thus stripped of his property, without indignation; and both vehemently condemned the course pursued against him. Others of the high-minded and honorable leaders of the party, shared in their sympathy: but there were not wanting many, who rejoiced in the ruin of so indefatigable an opponent.

The blow was struck; and Lamb, from affluence and ease, was involved in poverty and distress. But the brave veteran was not abandoned by his friends and companions in arms. The Clintons, Rutgers, Willett, Burr, and others, stood by him in all his difficulties, and tendered what consolation was afforded by the circumstances: and the grateful condolences and sympathies, of many who had shared his bounty in the days of prosperity, helped to soothe him in his adversity. But the stroke of fate was given. His constitution had received a severe shock from the agitations which he had endured; and the disease, with which he had so long labored, was aggravated by calamity.

For a long time, he was a martyr to the gout in its most distressing form, which kept him prisoner to his house; and he was seldom free from paroxysms of alarming nature. The frequency of these, admonished him of the approach of death; and he prepared calmly for its last and fatal attack. This occurred on the 31st of May, 1800: and the indomitable spirit, which naught human could subdue, bowing submissively to the chastening of Omnipotence, yielded itself, in hope without fear, into the hands of its creator.

Thus died John Lamb, who for more than thirty years, had devoted himself to the service of his country. Few, very few men, have acted more manfully the parts which have been allotted to them.

As a pioneer of the great events which wrought out the revolution, he was second to none in perseveranee and intrepidity. As a soldier in the field, he was never surpassed in valor and constancy, by any, the most daring. As a citizen, neighbor, and philanthropist, he was distinguished for his public spirit; respected for his suavity; and admired for his benevolence. As a husband, father, and friend, he was tender, affectionate, and sincere. Deeply indeed was he regretted; and the aching void, left in the bosoms of those who knew him in correspondent relations, neither time nor circumstances could ever fill.

General Lamb, had been Vice President of the Cincinnati: once while Baron Steuben was President; and afterwards under George Clinton. He was borne to the grave, in Trinity church yard, followed by the members of that society. He was buried with the military honors which he had so well deserved. And the long array of citizens, as they attended him to the tomb, attested the respect which his virtues, his bravery, and worth, had universally commanded.

The following obituary notice, ascribed at the time to the pen of Dr. Peter Irving, is extracted from Denniston's paper:

"How sleep the brave! who sink to rest;
With all their country's wishes blest.

On Saturday morning, departed for a better world, our much respected fellow citizen, Gen. JOHN LAMB; who, to the unbending honor and martial spirit of a soldier—to the unshaken integrity of a real patriot; added the humane and benevolent virtues of the true philanthropist.

He distinguished himself throughout our Revolutionary struggle. He lost an eye at Quebec, where the gallant, but ill fated MONTGOMERY fell! He was otherwise severely wounded; was captured, and suffered the hardships of imprisonment, in asserting the cause of freedom and his country.

General Lamb has from early manhood trod the rugged paths of life in public view; and though fortune has not smoothed his descent into the vale of years, nor scattered roses in his path; yet he has ever preserved a purity of character, which even the breath of detraction has not dared to sully.

Peace be to his ashes! He is gone into the presence of that Being, who will reward his virtues. The blessings of misfortune's children, waft his spirit onward: while the tears of the veteran patriots who fought and conquered by his side, embalm his memory.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

Memoir of Col. Hugh Hughes, Deputy Quarter-Master-General of the United States, during the Revolutionary War.

It too often happens, that meritorious officers, who have served their country with singular efficiency in the staff departments of the army, are overlooked in history; and their names are lost in the blaze of glory of those very victories, which their services have so much assisted to achieve; and without which the ablest General would have been fettered in his operations, and his efforts paralyzed.

A well regulated Commissariat, and Quarter Master's Department, constitute the soul of an army; and it was in a great measure owing to the want of such, that the war of the Revolution was so long protracted, and the country so often placed in jeopardy, from inability to move its forces upon important emergencies. The poverty of the United States was one great cause of the deficiencies in the Quarter Master General's department: but its improper constitution; and the frequent changes which were made; some of which were produced by disgust at the measures of Congress; were mainly instrumental in rendering it, at times inoperative, and at no time so effective as the exigencies of the service required.

Of the many officers of the Revolution, who served in the armies of America, and by their fidelity and zeal, contributed to the successful issue of the war, few were more distinguished for promptitude and efficiency; and very few have had so little justice done to their merits, as Col. Hugh Hughes, Deputy Commissary-General of New York, and of the Quarter-Master's department under Col. Mifflin, and afterwards under Col. Pickering.

This gentleman was of Welch origin, whose ancestors emigrated to America at an early period. In the year 1765, he warmly opposed the acts of the British Ministry; and although his brother was appointed Stamp Distributor for Pennsylvania, and sought to obtain the same office for his son in New Jersey; Hugh Hughes used every effort to put down the Stamp Act, and to compel the distributors to resign their appointments. And when the Sons of Liberty in November, 1765, were determined to force his brother to relinquish his commission; there is little doubt that the persuasives of Mr. Hughes were joined to the coercive arguments of the committee of that association, in order to effect the renunciation of the Stamp Master.

At the time of these transactions, Mr. Hughes was a resident of New Jersey; but he became not long afterwards an inhabitant of New York; and in the year 1766, he taught a select grammar school in the consistory room of the French church in Nassau street.

Mr. Hughes was an energetic writer, and although he was not a member of the Committee of Vigilance of 1765, he used his exertions, and employed his pen in the patriotic cause. Among the papers of his daughter Mrs. Stotesbury, now in the possession of the honorable Philemon Dickerson of New Jersey, were found many letters from Thomas Young, (once a member of the Sons of Liberty of Albany; and afterwards of the grand committee of Boston), of date as early as the days of the Stamp Act; and there can be no doubt that Mr. Hughes, was the ardent coöperator of Lamb, Sears, and others, in all their revolutionary movements; and the uncompromising opponent of the usurping ministry.

Mr. Hughes's adherence to the patriotic cause, must have been anterior to that of McDougall, whose name is not to be found in the early proceedings of the associated, until the year 1769; when he become distinctly identified with the radical Revolutionists, and was one of the first to offer his services to the Provincial Congress at the breaking out of the war.

In this respect, Mr. Hughes was little behind him; and the rank which was given him, proves the estimation in which he was held by the Provisional Government. On the 16th of February, 1776, he was appointed to the important office of Commissary of Military Stores for New York, by the Provincial Convention; and shortly afterwards was made Deputy Quarter-Mastcr General of the forces, under the head of that department, Col. Mifflin.

When the army was partly in the city, and partly on Long Island, Col. Moylan, the senior Deputy, was selected to act as aid to the Commander-in-Chief, and the management of the department entirely devolved upon Col. Hughes, who was indefatigable in performing the onerous and responsible duties required of him.

At the battle of Long Island, under his direction, the troops were passed over to the Island, as the exigencies of the day required. The signal for the dispatch of each detachment, being a flag raised on the top of the house at head quarters. And after the retreat was determined on, Col. Hughes received by Joseph Trumbull, the Commissary General, a verbal order from Gen. Washington, to impress every kind of water craft from Hellgate on the Sound, to Speyghten Duyvel Creek, that could be kept afloat, and that had either sails or oars, and have them all in the east harbor of the city by dark.

Secrecy was enjoined as well as dispatch; and although the rendezvous was fifteen miles distant from the anchorage of some of the vessels, they were ready for service at the appointed time. At noon the order was delivered, and at eight o'clock of the evening, such was the celerity of the movements of those employed, that every thing important to the occasion was in readiness, to be placed in the most favorable situations to secure the retreat. So judiciously were the vessels posted, that no delay or confusion occurred; and every material of the army that could possibly be secured, was brought off.

At this alarming crisis, when the fate of the campaign, and probably the success of the Revolution, depended upon the Quarter-Masters, Col. Hughes never dismounted from his horse until ten o'clock the day after the order was given; having kept the saddle unremittingly employed for twenty-two hours.

Had not the duties of the Quarter-Master's Department been well performed on that day, the army might have been lost, or, at least, its artillery and stores captured; and Washington could not have been able to make head against the superior force which menaced the city. The opinion of of the Commander-in-Chief, in relation to that service, was expressed in general orders; and in after times was reiterated in the following letter:

Mount Vernon, August 22, 1784.

Sir:

I have received your letter of the 31st ult, from Philadelphia. My memory is not charged with the particulars of the verbal order which you say was delivered to you through Col. Joseph Trumbull, on the 27th August, 1776, "for impressing all the sloops, boats, and water craft from Spyghten Duyvel, in the Hudson, to Hell Gate, in the Sound." I recollect very well that it was a day which required the greatest exertion, particularly in the Quarter-Master's department, to accomplish the retreat which was intended, under cover of the succeeding night; and that no delay or ceremony could be admitted in the execution of the plan. I have no doubt, therefore, of your having received orders to the effect, and to the extent you have mentioned; and you are at liberty to adduce this letter in testimony thereof. It will, I presume, supply the place of a more formal certificate, and is more consonant with my recollection of the transactions of that day.

It is with pleasure I add that your conduct in the Quarter-Master's line, so far as it has come under my view, or to my knowledge, was marked with zeal, activity, and intelligence, and met my approbation accordingly.

With grateful thanks for your good wishes,

I remain, sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
Go. WASHINGTON.*

Colonel HUGH HUGHES.

Col. Hughes continued Deputy Quarter-Master General as long as Col. Mifflin retained his office; and when Gen. Greene assumed the command of the department, he was desirous to secure the services of Col. Hughes as assistant, as will appear by his letter, of which the following is a copy:

CAMP VALLEY FORGE, 31st March, 1778.

Sir:

You will probably have heard before this reaches you, of my appointment to the office of Quarter-Master General; and as I would wish to continue in their respective stations all such officers as I find in the department, whose conduct has manifested their fitness for the employment, I should be glad to know how you are disposed on that subject, as speedily as may be; and if you are inclined to continue, you will be pleased to inform me of the terms and conditions of your former appointment; and what are your expectations under the new one. In the meantime, I doubt not, you will be careful that the business of the department does not suffer. Considerable supplies are expected from the Eastern States, which will be directed to your care, particularly from Col. Chase and Mr. Benjamin Andrews of Boston, and from Jacob Greene, Esq., of Warwick, Rhode Island; which I beg you will forward on to the camp, with all possible care and dispatch, as fast as they arrive.

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* In a very excellent book, entitled "History of Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York," but which contains much history and many matters of interest, which do not appear within the scope of its title, the following notice is taken of this retreat:

"The masterly retreat of Gen. Washington with his army across the East river, from Brooklyn to New York, is thus related by Major, afterwards Col. Benjamin Tallmadge, in his military journal; 'In the face of many difficulties, the Commander-in-Chief so arranged his business that on the evening of the 29th of August, by ten o'clock, the troops began to retire from the lines, in such a manner that no chasm was made in the line; but as one regiment left their station on guard, the remaining troops moved to the right and left, and filled up the vacancies; while Gen. Washington took his station at the Ferry and superintended the embarkation of the troops.'

"Gen. Washington has never received the credit which was due to him for this wise and fortunate measure. When the enemy had taken possession of the heights opposite to the city, they commenced firing from the artillery; and the fleet pretty soon were in motion to take possession of those waters; had this been done a little earlier, this division of our army must inevitably have fallen into their hands."—*Simms's History, &c., &c., p p.* 215, 216.

I am, sir, your most
Obedient, humble servant,
Nath. Greene,
Quarter-Master General.

Owing to some disgust relative to rank, a fruitful source of dissatisfaction, in the staff, as well as the line of the army; Colonel Hughes declined the employment; but notwithstanding, continued to perform all the services required of him by General Greene, until his successor could assume his duties.

Without any intention to disparage the exertions of the officer who, in 1780, had charge of the department in the Highlands; it will not be deemed invidious to say, that it was not so vigorously, or so effectually exercised, as when under the administration of Colonel Hughes.

Colonel William Malcom, who had been commander of the post of West Point; but on the marching of the army to the attack of New York, in August 1780, had been superceded by Colonel John Lamb, of the artillery; in a letter to that gentleman of the 14 August; bitterly complains of the want of proper implements at Stoney Point, wherewith to construct shelter for the troops while detained there; and concludes his letter, " we must have Hughes."

While in service under Colonel Mifflin, Colonel Hughes, in the spring of the year 1777; obtained a furlough in order to visit his family, then in Connecticut; and happened to be in New Haven, where Lamb's artillery companies, under Lieutenant-Colonel Oswald, were then stationed, (the commander of the regiment being at Southington, twenty miles north of the city.) Here it was rumored that Tryon, ex-Governor of New York, was about to make a descent somewhere in the state.

Reports of an armament in the Sound, of formidable extent, had for several days, been rife; but the point at which the invasion would be made was uncertain. At length, it was ascertained that Tryon had landed near Norwalk, and it was apprehended that the depot at Danbury, was the object of attack.

As soon as Generals Wooster and Arnold, both residents of New Haven, had made their preparations to join General Silliman, who commanded the Militia in that quarter; and Arnold had ordered Lieutenant-Col. Oswald to march with as many companies of Lamb's regiment as were sufficiently filled, to the scene of action; Col Hughes, posted to Southington, where Colonel Lamb's family resided; well knowing that his old coadjutor, would participate in his desire to meet that mischievous functionary in the field, whose machinations in the sphere of his former government, they both had so much assisted to frustrate.

In this respect, he was not disappointed; Colonel Lamb was as eager for the encounter as himself; and they spurred with all haste to join in the affray. They arrived on the ground at the time when the last and most obstinate contest, that of Compo Hill, was raging.

Arnold, after having intercepted the retreat of the enemy on Norwalk; had pressed the British General so hard, that he had ordered the marines of the fleet, and reinforcements of troops; whose congregated numbers were nearly equal to the whole body of his assailants to his aid; and on the strong post of Compo, sustained himself until his fresh men could be marched to the front, and his worn out forces relieved.

Colonel Hughes sought out Arnold in the thickest of the fight, and offered his services as aid, which were gladly accepted; and in that capacity he continued throughout the day, bearing orders to different parts of the field; escaping unharmed, the severe fire of the enemy. He had the good fortune, moreover, to fall in with his friend, Colonel Lamb, in a wounded state to help him off the field.

Throughout the campaign of 1777, he was indefatigable in the discharge of his arduous duties; obeying exactions from every quarter; and the army under Lord Sterling in the south, and that of Schuyler in the north, were both indebted to his exertions. After the battle of Bemus's Height, on the 19th September; the depot of the army at Albany, being exhausted, Gen. Arnold sent pressing requisitions for supplies of bread; and the celerity with which this order was obeyed by Colonel Hughes, was equalled alone by the promptitude by which he secured the retreat of the army from Long Island. In less than twenty-four hours after the order was received at Peekskill; three hundred casks of bread reached Albany; and fearful that adverse winds might detain this supply on the river; an adequate quantity, was despatched by land from Sharon, in order to provide against casualties.

These provisions reached the army very opportunely; as there were not a day's rations in camp, at the time of their delivery. And but for this timely supply, the army, instead of being able to gain the important victory of the 7th of October, would have been compelled to retire before the enemy.

On a certain occasion, the date of which is not now recollected, a British vessel, loaded with intrenching tools and other munitions, was taken by an American Privateer, and her lading, after condemnation in our Court of Admiralty had been ordered to be sold. Colonel Hughes applied to the head of the department for orders to purchase a large portion of the cargo, and for funds to enable him to do so, but received for answer that there were no funds disposable for that object.

So confident was Colonel Hughes, that in an early stage of the campaign these articles would be found indispensible, that he raised funds by means of loans of his friends, among whom was Governor George Clinton, and purchased as many of the necessary implements as he was able. It was not long afterwards when articles of this kind were found to be requisite; and few being in the market, the public were supplied by Colonel Hughes, without any advance in cost, although the market price had risen fifty per cent. after his purchases.

Some of his friends thought him over liberal to the government in not claiming from it the full value of his supplies; but he disclaimed all idea of speculating upon the necessities of the army. In after times he was made to feel that the public generosity was not commensurate with his own, and that even its justice might be fruitlessly invoked.

When Colonel Pickering was made Quarter Master General, in 1780; he urged Colonel Hughes to resume the command he had relinquished in May, 1778; and as the officer who had outranked him at that period, had accepted the appointment of agent of the state of New York; he returned to the duties of the Quarter Master department. And on the 31st August, 1780, he received from Col. Pickering a letter of which the following is an extract :

" These principles, have naturally led me to offer, and to request your acceptance of the office of Deputy Quarter Master of the state of New York, under the new plan for conducting the Quarter Master General's Department. This office in so considerable a state, and which is the scene of war, demands a gentleman of capacity to fill it."

This command was accepted, and Col. Hughes continued to serve in a double capacity, until the close of the year 1781, when he relinquished the first, in order the more closely to devote himself to the duties of the second appointment. On this occasion, general orders were issued by the Commander-in-Chief, of which the following is an extract :

Head Quarters, Highlands,
December 6, 1781.

Col. Hugh Hughes, having resigned his appointment of Deputy Quarter-Master to the army, the General returns him his hearty thanks for his attention to, and discharge of the several duties of his office, while in service, under innumerable embarrassments. Col. Hughes still retains his office of Deputy Quarter-Master for the state of New York.

H. Sewall,
Aid-de-Camp.

While acting in this capacity, he went from Peekskill to Albany, with funds of the department, in order to provide boards for quarters for the army at, and near West Point; and arriving at the ferry, on the east side of the river, after the ferrymen had withdrawn their boats for the night, he fastened his horse, and went in search of means of conveyance across the river. During his absence his saddle bags were rifled, and the money, nearly fifteen hundred dollars, stolen; a loss which occasioned him much inconvenience afterwards.

Col. Hughes continued to perform the important functions of his office throughout the war, and until the office was abolished in 1783. In January, 1784, he was elected to the Assembly, from the city of New York, with John Lamb, Marinus Willett, William Malcom, and others of his old associates, anterior to, and during the war. He was with Mr. Lamb, associated with John Lansing, Jr., the member from Albany, as a Committee to draft an answer to the Governor's address to the Assembly, and he continued in the Legislature until the end of the session.

On the bill more effectually restraining the returned Loyalists, and to impose a test oath on all such as should offer their votes at the polls; Col. Hughes voted with that party, who, during the war, fought for Liberty, and a Republican form of government; consequently he was opposed by those who merely sought to bring about a separation from the Mother Country, without much innovation of her political institutions, and ever, during his life time, he adhered to the party of George Clinton, who was the leader of those who held similar opinions to his own.

The infirmities produced by the severe duties of his department, induced him to retire from the city, and he rented a farm at Yonkers, the property of his friend Col. Lamb; and there, in order to gratify attachments, formed in early life, and which in generous minds are undying, he undertook the charge of the younger children of his friend, and the present Gen. Anthony Lamb, of New York, was many years an inmate of his family; and at a later period, from the same benevolent impulse, the children of Maj. Charles Tillinghast, his deceased assistant in the Quarter-Master's department, throughout the whole period of his service, were permitted to enjoy the same advantage, and to this hour, they acknowledge with gratitude, the paternal care of their affectionate, and venerable friend.

Col. Hughes had made efforts to settle his accounts with the war department, but such was the pressure of business upon those employed in that bureau, that he was unable to effect it. Another attempt was made in the fall of 1788, but still his accounts could not be adjusted. On the 22d January, 1789, at a time when he was absent from home, a fire broke out in the house he occupied, which being remote from inhabitants, obtained such ascendency before assistance could arrive, that it baffled the exertions of the members of his household to arrest its progress, and all the important papers of Col. Hughes, together with his accounts, and vouchers, were consumed; depriving him of the means of proving the indebtedness of the government for his services and expenses, which amounted to nearly nine thousand dollars.

Col. Hughes made afterwards several efforts to procure from the officers of the government, the just settlement of his accounts; the loss of the vouchers of which, had been owing to former delays on their part; and he offered to supply the evidence necessary to establish his claims, as well as circumstances would admit of; but the too rigid construction of the laws by the government officials, shut out the equity of his demands, and threw him upon the action of Congress for redress.

Accordingly, in 1793, he presented a memorial to that body, stating his claims, and the nature, and extent of the services he had rendered the army, in the most trying conjunctures of the war; to which he appended the letters of Gen. Washington, and Greene, heretofore quoted, as well as other testimonials of his merits : among which were certificates from General James Clinton, Parsons, and Gates, together with others from Col. Pickering, the principal of the department, with whom he had last served. These were backed by a letter from George Clinton, the Governor of New York, whose friendship for Col. Hughes, began anterior to the war, knew no abatement so long as its object survived.

But every effort to obtain justice from Congress was unavailing, and three days after his return from the last fruitless journey to Washington, disappointment, and its concomitants, hastened the ravages of a disease contracted in the public service, and he died at Tappan, on the 15th March, 1802, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

Col. Hughes was a man of spotless integrity, and unsullied honor; sagacious to discern the right, and inflexible in his determination to pursue it. His fortitude in the most trying times was never shaken, and in physical, and moral courage, he was exceeded by none. His attachments were imperishable; and no change of circumstances, or mutability of fortune, could weaken his friendships, so long as their objects were deserving. He survived most of his revolutionary coadjutors, and in the close of his life, was made to realize the ingratitude of the government, which at the hazard of that life, and the sacrifice of his fortunes, he had assisted to establish.

Two sons of Col. Hughes were in the army of the Revolution, and both served on the staff of Major Generals, in the memorable campaign of 1777. The eldest, Peter, was aid to Gen. Arnold, and bore his orders to various parts of the field, in the battles of the 19th September, and the 7th October. He often, in his narrations of the last fight, confirmed the reports circulated at the time, and currently believed, that Arnold, actuated by a stern necessity, pointed out Gen. Fraser to Morgan, as the greatest obstacle to the success of his manœuvres, and that that designation, resulted in the death of the gallant British General.

James Miles Hughes, the younger son, served as aid to Gen. Gates, so long as his own service with the army continued. Before the termination of hostilities, he commenced the study of the law, and was for many years a practitioner in the city of New York, where he was extensively known as one of the public notaries of the state. He left two daughters, who both died without issue.

Peter, the eldest son, was for many years Clerk of the county of Cayuga, in New York, and left at his decease, children of both sexes, none of whom survive; but several grand children are yet living, one of which, Jasper Hughes, is a resident of the city of New York.

The family of Col. Hughes is still farther renewed in the children of the Hon. Philemon Dickerson, of Patterson, New Jersey, not long since a representative in Congress, and subsequently Governor of that state; who married Sidney Stotesbury, grand daughter of Col. Hughes.

Mrs. Dickinson was the daughter of Captain Stotesbury, a very brave officer of dragoons, who, in one of the cavalry actions, fought during the war, against a superior force of the enemy, after receiving several severe sabre cuts on the head, was thrown from the saddle, and fell beneath his horse. Here he remained, trampled under the feet of the squadrons contending above him, until the fight was over. He was then drawn from the heaps of dead, and wounded, with fractured limbs, and bleeding from his numerous hurts. It seemed impossible to his friends that he could survive; but to their great joy, and the surprise of the surgeon, he recovered. His face and head, however, bore ever afterwards, the marks of this desperate rencounter.

APPENDIX B.

Extracted from the American Archives.

1775. Gov. Tryon continued to prorogue the Assembly from time to time, and to carry on his intrigues with the Loyalists, preparatory to the organization of a military force, to be composed of those citizens, in order to enforce the orders of the ministerial party. It was not long before their designs became known to the patriots, and a determination was formed in the Continental Congress to secure his person.

Apprehending this arrest, he addressed the corporation,
Oct. 13. calling upon that body to protect him, and advising
them, that if the design against his person should prevail, that
the fleet would demand him, and in the event of a refusal to
14. release him, would bombard the city. He requested
the corporation to take the sense of the citizens, relative to
his stay among them; and if they were averse to his remain-
17. ing, he would retire on board the Asia. The corpo
18. ration replied, that no danger to his person need be
apprehended, and requested him to remain. The Committee of One Hundred, assured him that no motion to seize him had been agitated in the Provincial Congress. They hoped much from his mediation with the Ministry, and urged him to stay, and farther said; "that he might rest assured, of all that protection from us, and our fellow citizens, which will be consistent with the great principle of our safety, and preservation."

These representations proved unconvincing, and the Go-
Oct. 19. vernor replied from on board the Halifax packet, that
he was not satisfied with the assurance, either of the Corporation, or of the Committee. Thenceforth the public business

was transacted on board some vessel in the harbor. From the
1775. ship Dutchess of Gordon, he informs the Corporation,
Dec. 4. that he has His Majesty's permission to withdraw from
his government whenever exigencies might make such a
course expedient; and some days afterwards, he enclosed to
18. the Corporation the letter of Captain H. Parker, of His
Majesty's ship Phœnix, declaring that "if any body of men
are raised, or any fortifications thrown up, or any magazines
attempted, he has orders to treat them as in open rebellion
23 against the King." Five days afterwards, the Governor
farther prorogued the Assembly to the first of February; and
1776. that proclamation was shortly followed by another,
Jan. 2. dissolving them, and the issuing of writs for the election of a new Assembly, on the first of February. This election never took place. The Committee of Public Safety, not-
8. notwithstanding the threat of the Captain of the Phœnix,
resolved that Gen. Lee's troops should march into the city,
and occupy the barracks; and accordingly that General
Feb. 5. marched in, and took possession of the city. On the
same day, Sir Henry Clinton arrived in the Mercury frigate. The Committee refused supplies to the Mercury, and
6. serious fears were entertained that a bombardment would
follow the refusal; the records of the government were
removed to the house of Alderman Nicholas Bayard, in the
11. out ward; and not long afterwards, the Governor departed to the Quarantine at Staten Island, to mature his grand design, which is shadowed forth in the following extract of a letter from Gen. Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 16th January, 1776. "He, [Tryon,] seems positive of being able to raise two thousand men, upon the arrival of the army in New York, who may be rendered very useful, if accompanied by his personal services in the field." On his return to the city, after its evacuation by the Americans, in August, he devoted himself to his military functions; and in the organization of the corps of Loyalists above alluded to, of which he was appointed Major-General.

APPENDIX C.

From American Archives.

An extract of a letter from Captain Lamb to a friend in New York, taken from the *American Archives*, third volume, fourth series, page 1343, gives a detail of the surrender, which is as follows:

"St. Johns, November 3, 1775.

"I have the pleasure to inform you, that I had the honor of marching into, and taking possession of this fortress, at the head of my company, and about two hundred men from the different corps of which our army is composed, about nine o'clock this morning; when the garrison, consisting of about six hundred men, marched out, and grounded their arms on the plains to the westward of the fort, (agreeable to the terms of the enclosed capitulation,) and were embarked in batteaux for Captain Mead's encampment; and from thence to be sent under guard as speedily as possible, for Ticonderoga, Connecticut, or any other place which the Continental Congress may direct. I most sincerely congratulate you on this most fortunate event; which in my opinion will be a most fatal stab to the hellish machinations of the foes of freedom, as it will facilitate the reduction of Canada, and secure the Canadians in our favor.

"We have taken in the fort a considerable quantity of artillery stores, among which are seventeen pieces of excellent brass artillery, two of them twenty-four pounders; the rest of them field pieces, two royal howitzers, several mortars, cohorns, and a considerable number of iron cannon. There were in the garrison about five hundred regular troops, the rest were composed of Canadian volunteers, among whom are many of their noblesse, who I believe are, from appearances, on the stool of repentance. And as you are fond of knowing how we have proceeded in carrying on the siege of this place since my last, I will give you a detail of the particular operations since that period.

"On Saturday, the 28th ultimo, the main body of the army decamped from the south, and marched to the north side of the fort, under the command of General Wooster. We were joined in the evening by General Montgomery;

and the same night we began to throw up a breast-work, (on an eminence which entirely commanded the enemy's works) in order to erect a battery of cannon and mortars: this battery they kept continually pelting at with grape shot and shells, but without doing us the least injury, until Wednesday morning, when we opened our battery, consisting of three twelves, and one nine pounder, three mortars, and as many cohorns, with which we kept an almost incessant blaze on them a great part of the day—and likewise from our battery on the east side of the river; which the enemy returned with the greatest spirit.

"Late in the afternoon, I received a message from General Montgomery, ordering me to cease firing until further orders. These orders were extremely disagreeable to me, when I saw some of my men bleeding before my eyes, and dying of the wounds they had received.

"On our ceasing to fire, the general ordered a parley to be beat, and sent an officer to demand a surrender of the fort. Two officers soon after returned with him, and were led blindfolded through the camp to the General's tent, where a pretty long conference was held; and they promised the General an answer from the commanding officer the next morning, which was complied with. The answer imported that if they should receive no relief within four days, he would then send in some proposals. The General replied that he must have an explicit answer next morning, and that the garrison must remain prisoners of war at all events; and if they had any intention to renew hostilities, they need only signify it by firing a gun as a signal. This, though very unpalatable, they were at length obliged to digest, as you see by the capitulation.

"You will readily excuse the incorrectness of this scrawl, when I inform you it is now past one o'clock in the morning; having had no time to write before, as I have been all day at the fort, examining the stores, and we are to begin our march for Montreal this morning; and my fingers and senses are so benumbed with cold, that I can scarcely write at all, owing to a north-easterly wind and plenty of snow, which is now falling in abundance; yet, notwithstanding, I am not so senseless or ungrateful as to forget my friend. I am yours, etc., etc.

"P. S. My little company has been rather unfortunate, as I have had five killed; four by the enemy and one by accident—six wounded, one died by sickness—which is as great a loss as has been sustained by the whole army, except in the first skirmish with the Indians, etc.; but this is what we must naturally expect, as the post of honor ever is the post of danger."

Such is the real history of the capture of Fort St. John; but in the same publication from which most of the facts in relation to the siege are taken, there will be found authorities of quite a different import; and if the colonial records of New Hampshire were to be consulted, and their contents relied upon; some future historian will claim in behalf of that province, the entire merit of the success which, after a siege of two months, crowned the arms of the revolutionists.

APPENDIX D.

As Smith's narrative is not easy to be met with, the following extract from it may be interesting. It comprises from 16th to 37th page of the London copy.

"My house was situated on the nearest route, where all communications generally passed from the eastern and southern States, across the ferry at Stoney Point, about 18 miles below West Point. Gen. Arnold's residence, while commanding the garrison, was at the house and farm of Col. Beverly Robinson, who had relinquished them and joined the royal army at New York. This residence was situated on the eastern side of the Hudson; a dreary situation, environed with mountains, and no way calculated for the residence of a lady of Mrs. Arnold's taste; she being well qualified from a most amiable disposition, and very engaging attractions, to be, at once the example and ornament of the politest circles. Being at that time but recently returned from Charleston, South Carolina, with my family, Mrs. Smith was equally destitute of the society which each had been accustomed to, in their respective cities. The intercourse by land or water, from West Point to Stoney Point, in the summer season, was easily attained; they were therefore engaged in frequent visits to each other; and General Arnold was as frequently with me, in search of those culinary supplies, unattainable in his mountain recesses. I felt myself happy in rendering him every aid in my power; and cultivated his acquaintance from motives of security; for in my absence from the State of New York, my family in general were suspected of disaffection to the American cause; my eldest brother, the late Chief Justice of Canada, having been banished within the British lines at New York, for his unequivocal attachment to the English government. Another brother, who was generally deemed an enemy to the revolution, and myself, were also more than suspected of being in the British interest, from the circumstance of my being appointed with two other gentlemen, of the county of Orange, a Doctor Butwater and Col. Sherrod (by a very large majority of the electors of that county), to oppose in the convention of delegates of the different counties of the province in 1776, the measure of independence then recommended and adopted by Congress. Indeed, such was the jealousy of the times, that to be descended from English parentage, or to possess any lukewarmness in the rash and intemperate measures that the demagogues of the mob chose to dictate, was sufficient to render the tenure of life, liberty, and property most precarious.

From the elevated situation I possessed, commanding an extensive view of the capacious Bay of Haverstraw, at this part of the river five miles wide, I frequently observed flags of truce, passing and repassing;* and I took the liberty of requesting to know from General Arnold, if there was any impropriety in the simple interrogation, whether the flags were for an exchange of prisoners by cartel? He answered generally, that in a short time the business of the flags would be explained. Soon afterwards, it was mentioned at dinner by General Arnold, that the flags had brought letters from Colonel Beverly Robinson, who General Arnold said, was very anxious to make terms for the recovery of his estates that had been confiscated to the public use, and that Colonel Robinson was authorized to propose through his medium, some preliminary grounds for an accomodation between Great Britian and America. Colonel Lamb of the artillery at West Point, an old and sagacious officer, who with a number of other officers of the garrison, was present at dinner, immediately said, that any proposition of that kind ought with more propriety, to be made to Congress, than to a General only commanding a district. General Arnold replied, that the communication must at first be made through some channel, and here the conversation ended.

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* This was early in Sept., 1780.

Sometime afterwards, General Arnold, in another visit, seemed more communicative; he expressed his detestation of the French alliance from the perfidiousness of their national character; ridiculed the solecism and inconsistency of an absolute monarch, being the ally of a people contending for freedom, who kept his own subjects in the most despotic and absolute slavery; thought it was an unnatural union of no duration; and that it was not made by France, until she saw the Americans were able to defend themselves, which would be more for their own national glory. Gen. Arnold then mentioned, that he had received another flag of truce, and that Colonel Beverly Robinson had anxiously solicited an interview, to be more explanatory of the propositions that were to produce, if acceded to by Congress, a general peace; and happily terminate the expense of blood and treasure, that were ruinous to both countries, in the prosecution of a war without an object. He said he conceived that the overtures made on the part of Great Britian by her Commissioners, the Earl of Carlisle, Governor Johnston, and Mr. Eden, (now Lord Auckland), were founded in ALL SINCERITY and GOOD FAITH; that they fully met the *ultimatum* that the generality of the Americans desired, but by what he could learn from

Colonel Robinson, the present terms held out, went much farther than the propositions of 1778; and he made no doubt that they would be the basis of an honorable peace. This event, he said, he most cordially wished, being heartily tired of the war; and he then complained of being ill used by Congress, and the executive of Pennsylvania, which *had treated him with injustice*, in not sufficiently ESTIMATING HIS SERVICES.*

I requested to know from Gen. Arnold if he had informed Gen. Washington of Col. Robinson's applications, and what was the General's opinion of the business? He answered that he had written to him for directions how to act; but that he was then gone to Connecticut or Rhode Island on a visit to COUNT ROCHAMBEAU, the Commander-in-Chief of the French troops, lately arrived from France.

Soon after this conversation, I accompanied my family on a visit to Fishkill, a settlement about 18 miles higher up from Robinson's house, where I left them; and stopping at Gen. Arnold's quarters on my return, agreeably to his particular request, he solicited me to conduct a flag of truce to the VULTURE sloop of war, then lying in Haverstraw Bay, for the purpose of bringing Col. Robinson to the intended interview. I was so deeply interested in the object of this meeting, as represented to me by Gen. Arnold, and the success of it was so congenial to my wishes, that I made no hesitation to assure him of my cheerful concurrence; and in a day or two afterwards, *Gen. Arnold came to my house, at Haverstraw, with the necessary passports for my mission to the Vulture.*

Having *himself* made the necessary arrangements, such as providing a boat from the Quarter-Master, Major Kiers, at Stoney Point, with every publicity, I was surprised that he should request me to go in the night. He begged me to procure for him hands from among my tenants, *that had been used to the water.* I stated to him the impropriety of conducting a flag in a manner which I deemed unprecedented; but he overruled my objection by assurances that it was properly *understood on board the Vulture,* and that the business was of a nature not to be generally known, for the present, among the citizens. Having made the promise, I could not recede, and with much reluctance, I consented to go; but he had great difficulty to persuade my tenants to accompany me, as they were intimidated by the danger of the undertaking by night; nor would they have consented, although promised handsome pay, and menaced with confinement for their non-compliance, if I had not appeared willing to countenance the measure, assuring them that it was, in my opinion, for the good of the country, which, upon the representations of Gen. Arnold, were my real sentiments.

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* At the time of this interview, General Arnold was at my house, and in the familiarity of conversation, he expressed himself as follows:—Smith, here I am, after having fought the battles of my country, and find myself with a ruined constitution, and this limb, (holding up his wounded leg) now rendered useless to me. At the termination of this war, where can I seek for compensation for such damages as I have sustained?

Accordingly Gen. Arnold had given the order for muffling the oars, that we might not be impeded by the boats that guarded the shores; a precaution necessary, as there was a regular water patrol, to prevent those disaffected to the American interest, or tories, as the friends of the royal cause were called, from carrying provisions or intelligence to the British ships occasionally lying in the river. This precaution, however, staggered the confidence of the eldest of the watermen, who bluntly told Gen. Arnold that, if the business was of a fair and upright nature, as he assured them it was, he saw no necessity for any disguise; or to seize the veil of night to execute that which might as well be transacted in broad day light. The watermen were simple, honest, had been accustomed to their occupation, and were my tenants, in whom I could place the utmost confidence; and it afterwards appeared, I was not deceived. Gen. Arnold insisted on their pursuing the business, and assured them he he had the *command of the militia of the country for sixty miles round West Point, by order of Congress, and that he would give a countersign to the guard boats that we might pass unmolested.*

The countersign given was Congress; thus arranged, no further hesitation was made to gain the *Vulture*, then lying at the extremity of Haverstraw Bay. The night was serene, the tide favorable, and the silent manner in which we passed the fort at Stoney Point, at the mouth of Haverstraw creek, precluded any obstructions; in short, although the distance was nearly 12 miles, we soon reached the ship. On our approach, we were hailed by the centinel on deck, ordered to bring to, and questioned whither bound? I answered, with a flag of truce to the *Vulture, Sloop of war*; upon which, I was heartily assailed with a volley of oaths, all in the peculiarity of sea language, by the officer commanding the watch on the quarter deck, and commanded instantly to haul along side, or he would blow us out of the water. Upon coming along side, I was saluted by another discharge of the same nautical eloquence, and orders were given to hoist the rebel rascal on board, which was prevented by my climbing up a rope fastened to the main chains, and so reaching the main deck. I was questioned as to my business, and how I could presume to come on board His Majesty's ship under color of a flag of truce, at night? To which, I answered, I was so authorized by my papers, which I requested he would give to Capt. Sutherland, the commander of the ship, and Col. Robinson, as I knew they were on board. This request, however, seemed to have no effect; but he poured on me torrents of abuse, threatening to hang me at the yard arm, as he said another rebel had been a few days before. Being, nevertheless, unintimidated, and seeing Col. Robinson and the Captain, for whom I had letters, I raised my voice, and said he must be answerable for my being delayed. Whether I was heard in the cabin or not, I can not say, but soon afterwards a boy came on deck and said, "*the Captain orders the man below.*" He conducted me into the cabin, where, on my entrance, I saw a venerable looking gentlemen, whom I recognized to be Col. Beverly Robinson, dressed in a regimental uniform. He received me politely, desired me to be seated, and, shortly, introduced me to Capt. Sutherland, who lay ill in his berth. Col. Beverly Robinson, having perused the letter from Gen. Arnold, apologized for retiring a few minutes, ordering some refreshment, and left me to converse with Capt. Sutherland, to whom I related my uncourtly reception on deck; and his urbanity, compensated me for the incivility of his officer on deck. Having conversed with Capt. Sutherland for twenty minutes on indifferent subjects, Col. Robinson returned and introduced Mr. Anderson to me, saying he was mentioned in Gen. Arnold's letter, for whom he had sent a pass to come on shore, in case he, Col. Robinson, should be unable to accompany me. Col. Robinson pleaded indisposition and said Mr. Anderson could as effectually answer all purposes by going on shore as himself. There seemed no reluctance on the part of Anderson to supply Col. Robinson's place, and he appeared in a dress equipped for the purpose; wearing boots and a large blue great coat. For my own part, it made no difference to me who bore me company; so that the object of my mission was fully answered, and the great national ends obtained, which Arnold assured me would be the result of the affair.

Mr. Anderson being ready, we left the ship; and we rowed in a short time to the western shore, to the place which Gen. Arnold had appointed for the interview; this was at the foot of the Long Clove, near the low water mark, whither my servant had conducted Gen. Arnold on horseback, he being still lame from his wounds.

Very little conversation passed between Mr. Anderson and myself, excepting trivial remarks about the tide, the weather, and matters of no concern. Mr. Anderson, from his youthful appearance and the softness of his manners, did not seem to me qualified for a business of such moment; his nature seemed fraught with the milk of human kindness.

On my approach to the place of appointment, I found Gen. Arnold ready to receive me; he was hid among the firs. I mentioned to him Col. Beverly Robinson's reason for not accompanying me; and the delegation of a young gentleman, a Mr. Anderson, whom I had brought with me, and who was then with the watermen on the Strand. He appeared much agitated, and expressed chagrin at the disappointment of not seeing Col. Robinson. He desired me, however, to conduct Mr. Anderson to him, which being done, he requested me to remain with the hands at the boat. I went as directed, but felt greatly mortified at not being present at the interview, to which I conceived myself entitled, from my rank in life, and the trouble I had taken to effect the meeting. At length, they continued such a time in conference, that I deemed it expedient to inform them of the approaching dawn of day. Shortly afterwards both came down to the boat, and Gen. Arnold, with much earnestness, solicted me to return with Mr. Anderson to the Vulture; but I pointed out the impracticability of effecting his wish, from the great distance, and the fatigue of the hands. He then applied to the men, who declared themselves unable to gratify his wish, through want of strength to accomplish it, and the ebb tide against them. Convinced of the apparent impracticability of the attempt to reach the ship, and return before day, without being discovered from either shore by the inhabitants, whose eyes were constantly watching the movements on the river, not only from the forts, but the surrounding shores; he relinquished his solicitations, and desired I would endeavor to return the boat to the place from whence we first embarked; this, with much labor, and taking the circuit of the eddies, was nearly effected, (as we left the boat at Crane's Island,) when our attention was called to the cannonade from Gallows Point, against the Vulture, which was compelled to fall down the river, and appeared to be set on fire. Col. Livingston, however, must have been totally unacquainted with Gen. Arnold's designs, or he never would have fired at that time upon the ship.

I will here request the candid and liberal reader, to judge whether any man in his senses, would, or would not, have refused to carry Mr. Anderson back to the Vulture, if he knew the extent of Gen. Arnold's plot, and the danger to which he was exposed, in case of discovery. If the purport of the interview had been fully accomplished, why could not Gen. Arnold have given me a flag to carry this gentleman on board the Vulture? The fact is, he had not recovered the trepidation into which he was thrown, on Mr. Anderson's first landing, from what cause, let the reader form his own opinion. Julius Cæsar did not discover more intrepidity than Gen. Arnold, who, in the many actions in which he was engaged, never retired without some scar, or wound, as honorable testimonies of bravery.

On my return home, I found that Gen. Arnold, and Mr. Anderson had arrived long before. Mr. Anderson having mounted the horse my servant had rode, when he followed Gen. Arnold to the Long Clove, the place of Anderson's landing. He appeared vexed that the ship had been compelled to leave her position, and after taking breakfast, and my ague coming on, it being the day of its return, I was obliged to retire, as well on that account, as to recover from the fatigue of the night, so that Gen. Arnold, and Mr. Anderson were left alone the far greater part of the day. The conversation at breakfast was principally about the arrival of the fleet at New York, under the command of Admiral Arbuthnot; the general health, and spirit of the British army, and other desultory topics, of no consequence. Towards evening, Arnold came to my house, and proposed that I should convey Mr. Anderson back to the Vulture, which had nearly regained her former situation; he saw, however, from the state of sickness under which I then labored, with a fit of the ague upon me, that I was unable to gratify him, on which he proposed my accompanying him part of the way, on his return to New York by land, as soon as my health would permit, on the removal of my ague fit; to which I made no objection, as when better, it would be on my way, to visit and bring home my family from Fishkill, being obliged to cross the river for that purpose. He soon after returned, and told me a difficulty had occurred, of which he was not before apprised; for that Anderson had come on shore in a military dress, which he had borrowed from an officer of his acquaintance at New York; that, as it would be impossible for him to travel in that uniform, he requested the loan of one of my coats. Being nearly of my size, I lent him a coat; the other parts of his dress did not require change. Gen. Arnold then proposed returning to his command at West Point; leaving Mr. Anderson very disconsolate with me. I endeavored to amuse him by showing him the prospect from the upper part of my house, from whence there was an extensive view over the capacious bay of Haverstraw to the opposite shore; he cast an anxious look towards the Vulture, and with a heavy sigh, wished he was on board. I endeavored to console him, by the hope of his being at the White Plains, or New York, before her. Finding myself better, I promised to accompany him on his way. I could not help remarking to him, that I thought the General might have ordered a flag of truce from Stoney Point, to have returned him to the Vulture, without the fatigue of his going to the White Plains; that, appearing to me, a circuitous route, unless he had business to transact at that place, of a public nature. From this time he seemed shy, and desirous to avoid much conversation. He continued to urge preparations for his departure, and carefully avoided being seen by persons that came to the house. Previous to his quitting it, Gen. Arnold had prepared a passport for him to go to the White Plains, and a flag of truce, for me to go thither, and return.

APPENDIX E.

Brigade order, Oct. 8, 1781.

A field officer of artillery will be appointed every day to command in the trenches, to be relieved every twenty-four hours. He will pointedly attend that the fire is well directed according to the object; and that the utmost coolness and regularity is observed.

The officers of artillery in the batteries are to level every piece themselves.

General after orders Oct. 20.

The General congratulates the army upon the glorious events of yesterday.

The generous proofs which his most Christian Majesty has given of his attachment to the cause of America, must force conviction on the minds of the most deceived among the enemy, relative to the good consequences of the alliance, and inspire every citizen of these States with sentiments of most unalterable gratitude. His fleet, the most numerous and powerful that ever appeared in these seas; commanded by an Admiral whose fortune and talents ensure great events: an army of the most admirable composition, both in officers and men, are the pledges of his friendship to the United States; and their coöperation has secured us the present signal success.

The General on this occasion, entreats his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, to accept his most grateful acknowledgments for his counsels and assistance at all times. He presents his warmest thanks to the General Baron de Viomenil, Chevalier Chastelleux, Marquis de St. Simon, and Count de Viomenil; and to Brigadier-General de Choisé, who had a separate command; for the illustrious manner in which they have advanced the common cause. He requests that Count de Rochambeau will be pleased to communicate to the army under his immediate command, the high sense he entertains of the distinguished merits, of the officers and soldiers of every corps: and that he will present in his name to the regiments of Augenois and Deux Ponts, the two pieces of brass ordnance captured by them,* as a testimony of their gallantry in storming the enemy's redoubt on the night of the 14th instant, when officers and men so universally vied with each other in the exercise of every soldierly virtue.

The General's thanks to each individual of merit, would comprehend the whole army: but he thinks himself bound, however, by affection, duty and gratitude, to express his obligations to Major-Generals La Fayette and Steuben, for dispositions in the trenches; to General du Portail, and Col. Carney, for the vigor and knowledge which were conspicuous in their conduct of the attacks; and to General Knox and Col. D'Abeville for their great care, attention and fatigue in bringing forward the artillery and stores, and for their judicious and spirited management of them in the parrallels. He requests the gentlemen above mentioned to communicate his thanks to the officers and soldiers of their respective commands.

Ingratitude, which the General hopes never to be guilty of, which would be conspicuous in him, should he omit thanking in the warmest manner, his Excellency Governor Neilson, for the aid he has derived from him, and from the militia under his command; to whose activity, emulation and courage, much applause is due. The greatness of the acquisition, will be ample compensation for the hardships and hazards which they encountered with so much patriotism and firmness.

In order to diffuse the general joy through every heart, the General orders, that those men belonging to the army, who may be now in confinement, should be pardoned, released, and join their respective corps.

Divine service is to be performed to-morrow in the several

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* Congress afterwards confirmed this gift by a resolve to that effect.

Brigades and Divisions. The commander-in-Chief recommends that the troops not on duty should universally attend, with seriousness of deportment and gratitude of heart, which the recognition of such reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence demand of us.

Brigade orders, Oct. 21, 1781.

It is with the highest degree of pleasure, Gen. Knox obeys the request of His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, in communicating His Excellency's thanks to the corps of artillery. The attention to the public interests in all ranks of officers, in bringing forward with uncommon labour to this point, the cannon and stores, which have, in conjunction with those of our good friends the French, in a capital degree effected the joyful event of the 19th, merit the warmest effusions of gratitude.

The skill so conspicuously manifested in the management and direction of the cannon and mortars, have convinced our noble allies, and brought home to the feelings of our enemies, that the officers of the American artillery have acquired a respectable portion of knowledge in their profession.

General Knox peculiarly requests Colonel Lamb to accept of his most sincere acknowledgments for his care and attention in conducting the stores and troops from the head of Elk to this place. He also thanks Lieut.-Col. Stevens for his great exertions at Christiana Bridge in forwarding the stores from that place, and for the essential assistance he afforded Col. Lamb in the other parts of his duty: and Major Bauman for the separate transportation of stores with which he was charged.

He is highly impressed with the merit of the above gentlemen, and with that of Lieut.-Col. Carrington, in the important duties of the batteries, which they discharged in a manner highly honorable to themselves and their country.'

APPENDIX F.

Mr. John C. Hamilton, in the life of his father, says that in the election of 1784, " Clinton was supported by the most violent of the Whigs, and the most violent of the Tories, who had become Whigs." This assertion, which ranges part of the Tories on the side of Clinton, is repelled by common sense, and virtually contradicted by himself, in another passage of his book. The election laws of 1777, and 1778, disfranchised the Tories, and the Legislature of 1784 confirmed former enactments to that effect. Test oaths were enjoined, and administered; and none who had openly favored the British, (and the violent Tories must have done so), could take this oath without instant detection, and consequent exposure to punishment for perjury. Nor is it at all probable that any of the Tory party, who had prudence enough to conceal their former acts, or present predilections, if they had been permitted to vote, would have favored that side, which had ever been, and still was, resolved to perpetuate their disfranchisement. They would certainly have chosen the other side : more especially, as at this very time, Col. Hamilton was striving to remove their disabilities, and was publishing the numbers of " Phocion" in the newspapers, for this avowed purpose; and there is no probability that any of these persons failed to attach themselves with devotion, to the man who was stemming the torrent of a just and natural prejudice, in order to emancipate them from the outlawry occasioned by their former acts.

The truth of history corresponds with the promptings of common sense. The Tories, to a man, sided with Hamilton, and his party, and it was the successful efforts of that gentleman to overcome the public animosities, that enabled him to obtain his election to the Assembly of 1787, and to carry out his favorite measure, the repeal of the laws of exclusion, under which the Loyalists were disfranchised. There he had the address, and influence, to procure the abrogation of the most important part of those laws; and by the accession of the great body of the enfranchised Tories to his party, to prostrate at once his opponents in the city, and to secure his election to the general Convention of 1787, and afterwards that of his friends from the city, in the Convention of the state, assembled in 1788.

That the restoration of the Loyalists to full citizenship, was in a general view, proper, none at this day will deny; but it was a measure which numbers at that time, who possessed as much probity, and patriotism as Hamilton himself, *did* deny, and most strenuously oppose; and it is a little remarkable, that having it in his power to effect a perfect repeal of the law, Col. Hamilton should have contented himself with the abrogation of a part, the operation of which was to let in thousands of voters, leaving its more rigorous penalties in force against a few, who, by name, were yet doomed to outlawry; all of whom were persons of great respectability, and worth, and who had done no more to merit perpetual exclusion, than those restored by him. To perform this act of mercy, was left to his political opponents, and at the next session of the Legislature, on motion of Samuel Jones, a staunch supporter of Gov. Clinton, the last clause of the law of 1784, was repealed.

That the Tories could have formed no part of George Clinton's party, and that they, and their influence, were rigorously excluded by the enforcement of the test oath of 1784, the following extract from Hamilton's book, vol 2, pp. 260, 261, will disclose :

" These considerations were disregarded, and this oath was prescribed. The election was thus in the hands of a few violent persons, together with those who were tempted by this bribe, to perjury.

" As a consequence, the representatives were composed of men of similar character; the most conspicuous of whom was

Aaron Burr; men chosen by an infuriate populace, in the midst of a disturbed, and overawed city."

What bribe was here offered? and who were, or could be corrupted by its allurements? Not any of the Whigs, violent or otherwise, most certainly; for they were not within the scope of its influence, and it must have been the Tories alone, who were tempted to perjury; and on whose side did they vote, if any indeed dared the hazard? Certainly not with their proscribers; not with the men who were pushing them from the polls by every effort in their power. A bribe must carry with it some prospect of gain, and if any perjured votes were cast, they were for the Hamilton party, their open friends, and not for their bitterest enemies.

The names of the successful candidates at the first election in the city, after the peace, were Marinus Willett, John Lamb, Isaac Sears, William Malcom, Hugh Hughes, Henry Rutgers, John Stagg, Robert Harpur, and Peter P. Van Zandt. Of these, all had shown as much moral courage, and endurance, and the two first at least, had as often, and as manfully met the enemy in the field as any the most vaunted of the opposite party. Their moral characters were as pure and untainted as their patriotism, and the charge of motives of cupidity against such men, is as rash as it is undeserved. As well might any one, desirous of detracting from the high character of Gen. Hamilton; and the writer of this is not so desirous, (for he always viewed, and still regards the death of that distinguished man, a national misfortune). As well might they affirm that he was induced to favor the perfect restoration of the Tories, because they were, or were to become the most valuable of his clients, as to ascribe the action of those men, to impure, or selfish motives.

The history of Alexander Hamilton ought to have been written in a better spirit, and the motives of his antagonists should have been judged with more candor; but the author, blinded by personal, and party prejudice, assails with bitterness all who opposed him; and even Gov. Clinton, to whose devotion to the country, Hamilton himself had borne witness, is attacked with the same rancorous virulence. That great man was a patriot of the purest character, and may with justice, be placed second to Washington alone, in efficient service to the nation. His efforts in the arduous station in which he acted throughout the war; difficult as it was rendered by the great body of the disaffected in the state, were justly appreciated by Congress, and the people; and yet he escapes not the fate of his cotemporaries. While all the acts of Hamilton are ascribed to a regard for the public good, and the most exalted patriotism, those of Clinton, and his cotemporaries are placed to account of the most narrow, factious, and selfish motives.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Hamilton in his laudable effort to do justice to his father, did not rely upon the merits of that distinguished man alone, in order to establish his claims upon posterity; much more that he should attempt to draw invidious comparisons for the purpose of exalting a character which required no adventitious aids. Still more is it to be deplored that he should have suffered his own prejudices and animosities to prevail, and induce him to decry the talents and services of others, in order to render imaginary contrasts more glaring. No man acquainted with the history of the principal leaders of the party opposed to the restoration of the loyalists, can with truth affirm that they or the party which sustained them, merit the sweeping denunciations pronounced against them. Their motives to action were as pure, and as little traceable to personal or corrupt inducements, as those of the great names which were opposed to them; while their patriotism and devotion, at all times exhibited; equalled, if it did not transcend the zeal of the most exalted of those individuals who differed from them on that important question.

There is not a name upon the list of representatives which he denounces, which is behind that of Alexander Hamilton, for integrity, for personal or moral courage, or purity of patriotism; nor ought their descendants to admit such a proscription to obscure the fame of their ancestors.

To place this controversy in the proper light, it must be remembered, that many of those who fought the battles of the Revolution, and a still greater number of those who did not bear arms, but who favored the cause, and aided it in their several spheres of usefulness; even during the war, proclaimed that they fought for independence of the Mother Country, rather than for an alteration of its form of government. And as the prospect of peace grew stronger, these sentiments were more openly avowed. On the other hand, the Republicans, or according to Chancellor Livingston's nomenclature, "the violent Whigs" fought for liberty, and a commonwealth; repudiating the aristocratic features of the English form of government.

That Col. Hamilton belonged to the first of these parties was well known. While yet the war existed, he disclosed his opinions on this subject to Col. Hugh Hughes, assistant Quarter-Master General, who afterwards became one of the members of the Assembly, so obnoxious to his son's resentment; and the attitude which he assumed in the Convention of 1787, affords conviction that his opinions were even then unchanged, and that he would have been satisfied if the British Constitution, with very slight modification, had been established by that Convention. Holding these opinions, which if not at the time openly avowed, were very little disguised; it is not surprising that he met from the sturdy Republicans, the most determined resistance. Accordingly they opposed his measures, and kept him and his party in check, until they were themselves borne down by the extension of the elective franchise to *his* friends, and their inveterate enemies.

But setting aside all other views of the question, save that of a contest for political supremacy. The balance of power, was suspended upon it; The men in possession of the government, had a natural right to defend themselves; and George Clinton, and his friends, are as much entitled to be considered as pure in their motives as were Colonel Hamilton, and his supporters. The result, as it terminated in the immediate overthrow of his opponents in the city; and their ultimate prostration throughout the state, proved, that if not the better cause; the better fortune, was on Hamilton's side; and it justified the resistance of the other party, by the law of self-preservation.

The history of the bill which called forth the vituperation of Mr. Hamilton, and which he charges the Assembly to have passed; " under the *specious title*, of An act to preserve the freedom and independence of this state, and for other purposes;" is this. A special election for members to represent the city in the House of Assembly was held in January, 1784, to take their seats in the seventh session of the Legislature, one term of which had already expired. At the meeting of the two houses, a bill was introduced in the Assembly entitled, " An act declaring certain description of persons, without the protection of this state, and for other purposes therein mentioned." This bill embodied some of the provisions of former election laws; and the last section was a decree of perpetual outlawry and banishment against certain persons named in it. In the Senate, Abraham Yates, a member ever distinguished for his patriotism, moved an amendatory clause in the following words: " That all and every person, and persons, falling under the descriptions hereinbefore mentioned in the 12th section of the Act entitled An act to regulate Elections within this state, passed the 27th March, 1778; and who has, or have not, left this state, are hereby forever disqualified, and rendered incapable of holding, exercising or enjoying, any legislative, judicial, or executive, office or place whatsoever, within this state: and shall, and hereby is, and are, forever disqualified and incapacitated to elect or vote either by ballot or viva voce at any election to fill any office or place whatsoever within this state." This clause passed 10 to 6, Mr. Whiting, Mr. Floyd, Mr. Rosevelt, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Ward, and Mr.

McDougall voting against it. "Mr. Oothout farther reported, that they had gone through the bill, made several amendments, and altered the title in the words following, viz: "An act to preserve the freedom and independence of this state, and for other purposes therein mentioned." These amendments were adopted by the Assembly, who did nothing more than concur with the Senate in the passage of the amended bill, with its new title and the obnoxious clause; and the lower house is, therefore, innocent of the *specious title* of which Mr. Hamilton complains. This bill he truly asserts was negatived by the council of revision. But he omits to state, that it passed both houses, by the constitutional majority, and was in force, when at the election of 1787, Colonel Hamilton was returned to the Assembly.

Mr. Hamilton has fallen into many inaccuracies in his desire to stigmatize the opponents of his father. And in his attempt to cast odium upon Colonel Burr, the archives of the state have been partially consulted, carelessly perused, or wilfully perverted. Acts of one Legislature have been ascribed to men chosen at a subsequent period; and deeds attributable to another Assembly of which he was not a member, are charged upon a man, against whom, as the son of his father, he had just cause of hatred, but to whom, as an historian, he was bound to do at least justice.

Col. Burr was not a member of the Legislature which passed the bill complained of by Mr. Hamilton. He was elected at the regular election of April, 1784. His colleagues in that Assembly, were Peter Van Brugh Livingston, Comfort Sands, John Lawrence, Henry Remsen, Daniel Dunscomb, William Denning, William Goforth, and Thomas Randall. Several of these were Col. Hamilton's friends, and at that session advocated measures favored by him, and more than one subsequently became his very efficient partisans.

Certainly Mr. Hamilton could not have taken the trouble to inform himself who those members were who composed either Assembly, for he would hardly have ventured knowingly to denounce men of such high character; many of whom were coadjutors with his father, merely for being associated with Col. Burr: who, after all, was innocent of the act of which he complains.

As Mr. Hamilton's book has been adopted by many as authentic, and has misled even Hammond, whose Political History has now become a text book; it may not be improper to notice another error into which he has fallen in his details of the proceedings of the Assembly of 1787, in regard to the answer of the House to the Governor's speech. The Governor had refused to call a special meeting of the Legislature, in conformity to a request of Congress; and it was the wish of his friends to embody in the answer an approval of that measure by the Legislature. This Col. Hamilton and his friends endeavored to prevent, but were unsuccessful. He was of the committee to report the answer; and to his report, Richard Varrick, the Speaker, offered an amendment, which gave the sanction of the House to the course pursued by the executive.

Mr. Hamilton asserts that the Speaker, Richard Varrick, withdrew his motion, and that Gen. Malcom offered his amendment as a *substitute*. The following is an extract from the Journals of the House, in relation to the adoption of the answer reported by Mr. Hamilton from the committee appointed to draft the address, the first paragraph of which was as follows: " We, the representatives of the people of the State of New York in Assembly, beg leave to assure your Excellency that the several important matters mentioned in your Excellency's speech, and communicated in the papers that accompany it, shall, in the course of the session, engage our serious attention."

That the said paragraph having been read, Mr. Speaker (Richard Varrick) made a motion that after the word "leave," the following words should be inserted, viz: " to express our approbation of your Excellency's conduct in not convening the Legislature at an earlier period."

And at the same time, that Mr. Malcom made a motion that as a *farther* amendment, the following words should be added to the first paragraph of the address, after the word "attention," viz: "We learn by a resolution of the United States in Congress assembled, accompanying your Excellency's speech, that the law passed by the Legislature of this State at their last session, has not been considered by that honorable body as a compliance with their act of the 18th April, 1783; and that they had recommended to the executive of this State to convene the Legislature, to take under their consideration that very important subject. Although our inclination, as well as the persuasion that it is the sentiments of our constituents, will dispose us on all occasions to manifest the most respectful attention to the recommendation of the United States in Congress assembled; yet when we consider the short space of time between the passing of the said resolution and the period appointed by law for the meeting of the Legislature; the expense which an extraordinary meeting would have occasioned, and the great inconvenience to which the members would thereby have been subjected; we are of opinion that your Excellency was justifiable in forbearing to convene the Legislature until the time appointed by law."

Here is evidence that Varrick's amendment was not withdrawn, and that Malcom's amendment was not offered as a substitute for Varrick's, but in addition and confirmation of the sentiments expressed in it. For Malcom's resolution, the first put, Varrick voted; but it was lost; and he sustained his own motion, when next offered, for which Malcom voted; while Mr. Hamilton voted against Malcom's, and also against Varrick's amendments; in which last vote he was sustained by C. Livingston, Bayard, Brooks, Gordon, J. Livingston, Sickles, Dongan, and Denning. The last gentleman was a member of the Assembly of 1784–5, with Col. Burr, and is one of those who comes within the scope of the anathema of Mr. Hamilton.

CORRECTION.

After page 362 had been printed, J. R. Simms, Esq., of Fultonville, furnished the publisher with conclusive evidence that the retreat from Long Island was on the 29th August, and not on the 27th, as stated in the memoir of Col. Hughes. The order mentioned was given immediately after the retreat was determined on in the council of war, which was held on the 29th August: and, therefore, the recollections of both Gen. Washington and Col. Hughes are erroneous.

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